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COLLECTION

Jewish and Hebraic Testimonies

CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

WITH

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

VOL. III.

Containing the Testimonies of Hebrew Witnesses
of the Third Century, and to the Christian Religion,
and the Christian Religion.

NATHANIEL LEE

Author of the

History of the Christian Religion, &c. &c. &c.
and of the Christian Religion, &c. &c. &c.

27

A LARGE
COLLECTION
OF ANCIENT

Jewish and Heathen Testimonies

To the TRUTH of the

CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

WITH

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

V O L. III.

Containing the TESTIMONIES of HEATHEN WRITERS
of the Third Century, and to the Conversion of CONSTANTIN,
the first Christian Emperour.

By NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

LONDON: M.DCC.LXVI.

Sold by J. BUCKLAND, and T. LONGMAN, in Pater Noster Rowe,
and J. WAUGH, in Lombard Street.



A LARGE
COLLECTION
OF ANCIENT
Jewish and Heathen Testimonies

To the Trustees of the

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

WITH
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE publication of this volume has been deferred beyond expectation. The occasion of it is this.

In the preface to the first volume of this *Collection of ancient Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion*, I gave an account of several collections of the like kind, published by divers learned men. About two months agoe, when this third volume was finishing at the press, I understood, that there had been lately published another work of the like kind, entitled, *A †† Historie of the Establishment of Christianity, taken from Jewish and Pagan Authors only, in which is a solid Proof of the Truth of our Holy Religion*. By Mr. Bullett, Professor of Divinity in the University of Besançon. I immediatly gave orders for procuring it, intending to give an account of it in the preface to this volume. But it is not yet come to hand. Nor have I any certain assurance, when it will arrive. I now therefore determine, not to wait any

A 2

longer

†† *Histoire de l'Etablissement du Christianisme, tirée des seuls Auteurs Juifs et Payens, où l'on trouve une preuve solide de la Verité de cette Religion*. Par M. Bullet, Professeur Royal de Theologie, et Doyen de l'Université de Besançon, et Associé de l'Academie des Inscriptions, et des Belles Lettres. qto. à Besançon et Paris. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, pour les mois de Janvier, Février, et Mars. 1765. à la Haye.

longer for it. But if I live to publish the fourth and last volume of this Collection, I will then give some account of it. And if the work affords any assistances for improving my design, I shall readily embrace them, and as readily acknowledge, how far I am indebted to it.

February 25. 1766.



CON-

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To be corrected.

Page 12. for erected read enacted.

P. 16. l. 15. r. supposed to be the spirit of the law.

P. 29. l. 7. for adapt r. adopt.

P. 185. l. 8. for Cresiphon r. Ctesiphon.

P. 198. l. 2. for opinions r. opinion.

P. 208. l. 6. from the bottom, for improbably r. improbable.

P. 220. l. 9. for Christians r. Christian.

P. 248. l. 15. strike out the full point after centurie.

P. 252. l. 6. after mentiuntur put a full point.

In the Notes.

P. 73. note (l) l. Δεξιφ.

P. 185. lin. pen. l. Ctesiph.

P. 227. note (n) for p. 209. r. p. 115. 116.

N. B. In the alphabetical Table, in the article of J. L. Mosheim, near the end, for 295. should be read 195.

TESTI-

TESTIMONIES

OF

HEATHEN WRITERS

OF THE

THIRD CENTURY,

AND TO THE

Conversion of CONSTANTIN, the first Christian
Emperour.

TESTIMONIES

OF

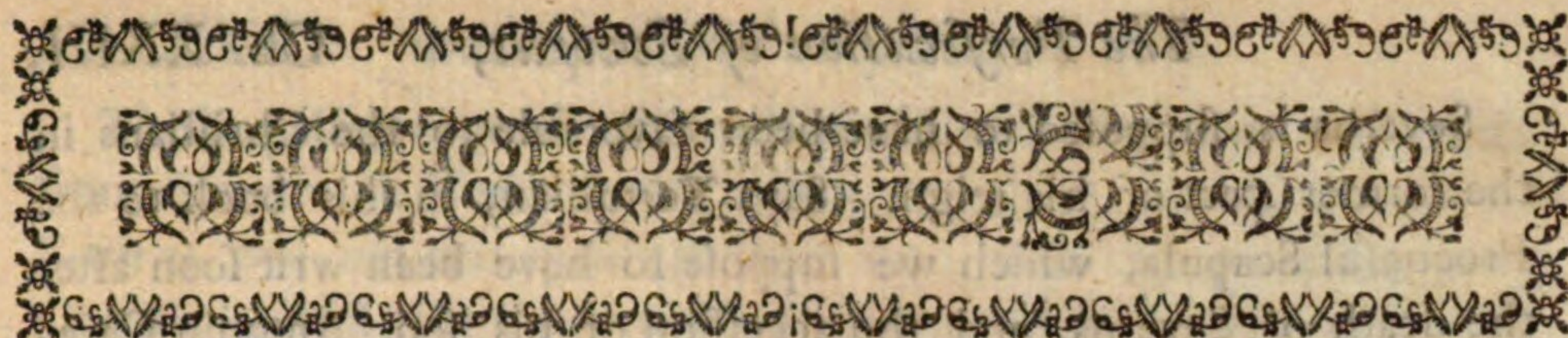
HEATHEN WRITERS

OF THE

THIRD CENTURY,

AND TO THE

Conversion of Constantine, the first Christian
Emperor.



*Testimonies of ancient Heathen Authors to
the Truth of the Christian Religion.*

C H A P. XXIII.

The Persecution of SEVERUS,

AND

SPARTIAN's Testimonie to it.

I. *The Time of the Reign of SEVERUS, and that for a while he was favorable to the Christians.* II. *Accounts of his Persecution from Christian Writers.* III. *How long it lasted.* IV. *His Edict against the Christians from Spartian, with Remarks.* V. *An Observation of Balduinus upon this Reign.*

I. **T**HE (a) reign of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS is computed from June 1. 193. to Febr. 4. 211. He reigned therefore seventeen years, eight months, and three days.

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*The Time
of his
Reign.*

(a) *Vid. Pagi ann. 211. num. ii. et Basnag. 193. num. xv.*

VOL. III.

B 2

Severus

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Severus is supposed to have been favorable to the Christians in the former part of his reign. Says Tertullian, in his book to the Proconsul Scapula, which we suppose to have been writ soon after the death of Severus, and the accession of his son, Antonin Caracalla: "And (b) Severus himself, father of Antonin, was favorable to the Christians. For when he came to be Emperour, he inquired after Proculus, a Christian, surnamed Torpacion, and steward to Euhodia, who had cured him, by anointing him with oyl, and kept him in his palace so long as he lived: whom Antonin also knew very well, he having been nursed by a Christian woman. Moreover Severus openly withstood the furie of the people against some men and women of the first quality, whom he knew to be of this sect. And was so far from bearing hard upon them, that he gave them an honorable testimonie." (* *)

To which I shall now add from Spartian's Life of *Caracalla*, "that (c) at seven years of age, when he heard, that a boy, his play-fellow, had been severely beaten, because he was of the Jewish religion, he would not for some while after look upon his own father, nor the father of the boy, nor those who had beaten him."

By the *Jewish religion*, very probably, is here meant the Christian religion.

These

(b) Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculum Christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiae procuratorem, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisivit, et in palatio suo habuit, usque ad mortem ejus: quem et Antoninus optime noverat, lacte Christiano educatus. Sed et clarissimas feminas, et clarissimos viros, Severus sciens hujus sectae fuisse, non modo non laesit, verum testimonio exornavit, et populo furenti in os palam restitit. *Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 87.*

(* *) Concerning the cure, wrought by

Proculus upon Severus, or, as others understand it, upon Euhodus, may be seen Basnag. ann. 193. num. xxii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 460. Lux Evangel. p. 232. Fortin's Remarks upon Ecc. Historie. Vol. 2. p. 289. &c. Tillem. Persecution sous Severe. art. i.

(c) Septennis puer, quum collusorem suum puerum, ob Judaicam religionem gravius verberatum audisset, neque patrem suum, neque patrem pueri, vel [al. velut.] auctores diu respexit. *Spartian. Ant. Carac. cap. i. p. 707.*

These passages, partly from Tertullian, a Christian, and partly from Spartian, a Heathen, are sufficient to shew, that the Emperour *Severus* was not unacquainted with men, who by profession were Christians, and that they were well known in his familie.

Instead of *Eubodia*, in Tertullian, it is thought by some, (*d*) that we ought to read *Eubodus* or *Evodus*, freedman of *Severus*, who, by *Dion Cassius* (*e*) is said to have been charged with the education of *Caracalla*. Who therefore, as is supposed, had given him a Christian woman for his nurse.

II. But however favorable *Severus* may have been to some Christians, from personal respects; it is certain, that in his reign the Christians underwent many sufferings. And, as that excellent Lawyer *Francis Balduinus* observes: "That (*f*) place of Tertullian shews, that *Septimius Severus* was not always averse to the Christians. Nevertheless that favour for them was rather owing to a personal benefit, than to any regard for their religion. The favour was personal, without restraining the cruelty with which Christians were openly treated. Nor did *Severus* by any edict forbid the hard usage, which Christians then met with, and of which Tertullian himself is a good witness."

*Accounts
of his Per-
secution.*

Orosius says, "that (*g*) in the fifth persecution, which was under *Severus*,

(*d*) Loco *Euhodiae*, legendum esse *Evodi*, existimamus. &c. *Basnag. ann.* 193. num. xxii.

(*e*) *Ἵ Εὐόδου τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.* *Dion. l. 76.* p. 1273. al. p. 861. *Vid. et p. 1287. lib.* 77. in.

(*f*) Hic Tertulliani locus testis est, *Septimum Severum* alieno abs Christianis animo semper non fuisse. Sed favor propter curationem magis fuit, quam propter religionem: et privatus quidem favor, propter quem interea nihil fit remissum de publica illa saevitia, quâ Christiani vexa-

bantur. Nam neque *Severus* ullo edicto, ut Christianis parceretur, publice imperavit: qui tamen quam eo tempore crudeliter vexabantur, ex ipso quoque Tertulliano intelligi potest. *Balduin. de Edict. Princ. Roman. p. 99.*

(*g*) Quinta, post *Neronem*, persecutione Christianos excruciauit, plurimique sanctorum per diversas provincias martyrio coronati sunt. Hanc profanam in Christianos et Ecclesiam Dei praesumptionem *Severi*, coelestis ultio e vestigio acta subsequitur. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 17. p. 501.*

A. D. 202. Severus, very many of the saints obtained the crown of martyrdom in several countreys."

Sulpicius Severus (*b*) calls this the sixth persecution, and observes particularly, that *Leonidas*, father of Origen, then suffered.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius (*i*) this is reckoned the fifth persecution, and is placed at the tenth year of Severus. In his Ecclesiastical Historie he does not, I think, expressly say, when it began. But he intimates, that (*k*) it was very grievous in the tenth year of Severus, and afterwards. And, according to him, the persecution was general, and very grievous. So he begins the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical Historie. "And (*l*) when Severus raised a persecution
 " against the churches, there were every where in all the churches
 " glorious martyrdoms of the champions for religion. But especially
 " were they numerous at Alexandria, to which city, as to the no-
 " blest stadium of God, were brought the most eminent champions
 " from Thebais, and from all Egypt, that by invincible patience
 " under various torments, and divers sorts of death, they might ob-
 " tain from God a glorious crown." He then relates the death of *Leonidas*, Origen's father, who was beheaded: and afterwards the deaths of several others, and particularly, (*m*) *Potamiaena*, a virgin, who with her mother *Marcella* was burnt to death, by order of *Aquila*, the Judge, and as he relates, in a slow and painful manner, scalding pitch having been by little and little poured upon the several members of her body, from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head. Which nevertheless she endured with great patience and fortitude.

He

(*b*) Sexta deinde, Severo imperante, Christianorum vexatio fuit. Quo tempore Leonidas, Origenis pater, sacrum in martyrio sanguinem fudit. *Sul. Sever. l. 2. cap. 32. al. 46.*

(*i*) *Chron. p. 172.*

(*k*) *H. E. l. 6. cap. 2. p. 201. C.*

(*l*) Ως δὲ καὶ Σεβήρος διαγμὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκίνει, λαμπρὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἀπετελεῖτο μαρτύρια. κ. λ. *Cap. i. p. 201. A. B.*

(*m*) *Ibid. cap. v.*

Ch. XXIII. *and Spartian's Testimonie to it.*

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He says, that (n) at that time there were innumerable martyrdoms. And soon after, in a following chapter: "At (o) that time
"lived Judas, who published a Commentarie upon Daniel's seventy
"weeks, concluding his computation of the times at the tenth year
"of Severus. Who likewise thought, that the so much talked of
"coming of Antichrist was then at hand. So strangely did the rais-
"ing that persecution disturb the minds of many."

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That Commentarie of Judas concluded at the tenth of Severus. But it is likely, that the work was not finished untill some while after that year. He therefore had been a witness of the sufferings of his brethren, after the beginning of the persecution, before he published his work.

At this time suffered in Africa, at Tuburbium, or, as others, more probably, at Carthage, *Perpetua*, and *Felicitas*, and their companions: of whom (p) notice was taken formerly.

During this reign likewise the *Scillitan Martyrs* (q) are supposed to have suffered in Africa: though the Acts of their Martyrdom, which we now have, are not allowed by all to be genuine.

Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, who afterwards suffered martyrdom (r) in the time of Decius, was imprisoned (s) now.

Tertullian has mentioned another Martyr, named *Rutilius*, who suffered in this persecution, though the year is not exactly known.

Rutilius (t) had absconded, and fled, from place to place, and had likewise

(n) Καὶ μυρίων ὅσων τοῖς κατὰ μαρτύριον ἀναδεδειγμένων σεφάνοις. Cap. 2. p. 202. A.

(o) Cap. 7. p. 208.

(p) See *Credib.* vol. 4. p. 423. &c.

(q) Vid. *Basnag. ann.* 211. num. viii. *Ruinart. Acta Mart.* p. 84. &c. *Tillem. la persecu. de Severe.* §. iii. *Moshem. de Aetate Apol. Tertull.* num. x.

(r) Vid. *Euseb. H. E.* l. 6. cap. 39. et 46.

(s) L. 6. cap. xi.

(t) *Rutilius sanctissimus Martyr*, cum toties fugisset persecutionem de loco in locum, etiam periculum ut putabat, nummis redemisset, post totam securitatem, quam sibi prospexerat, ex inopinato apprehensus, et Praefidi oblatus, tormentis dissipatus, credo pro fugae castigatione, dehinc ignibus datus, passionem, quam vitarat misericordiae Dei retulit. *De Fuga.* &c. cap. 5. p. 693.

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likewise given money to some officers to secure himself from suffering. And yet, he was at length apprehended, and through the mercie of God suffered very patiently : though he was at first grievously tormented, and then burnt alive. Tertullian could not avoid speaking honorably of him : though he then condemned both flight in persecution, and pecuniarie redemptions.

And in his book to Scapula (*u*) he mentions *Manilus*, an inhabitant of Adrumetum, whom that Proconsul had himself condemned to be devoured by wild beasts.

I do not mention *Irenaeus* here, as some do, because I do not think he died by martyrdom, as (*x*) was formerly shewn.

*How long
it lasted.*

III. Mr. Dodwell (*y*) computed the persecution under Severus to have lasted two years only. Basnage (*z*) shews, that it lasted more than six years. Mosheim (*a*) observes, that some Christians suffered in the begining of the reign of Caracalla. "They therefore, says he, judge rightly, who think, that this persecution did not end before the death of Severus."

Sulpicius Severus having spoken of this persecution, says, "that (*b*) from that time to the persecution of Decius, the Church enjoyed peace eight and thirty years, excepting some disturbance given to the Christian Clergie by Maximin." It is hence argued by

Pa-

(*u*) Tibi quoque optamus admonitionem solam fuisse, quod cum Adrumeticum Manilum ad bestias damnasses, et statim haec vexatio subsecuta est. *Ad Scap. cap. 3. p. 87.*

(*x*) *Credib. P. 2. Vol. i. p. 251.*

(*y*) Durasse autem constat duobus annis. *Diff. Cypr. xi. num. xli.*

(*z*) Plus igitur sexennio persecutio continuata est. *Basn. ann. 202. num. ii.*

(*a*) De fine hujus belli silent veteres. Quum vero certis auctoribus, maxime ex

Tertulliano, constet sub Severi filio Caracalla, nonnullis in locis Christianos vexatos esse, recte illi judicare videntur, qui non ante mortem Severi cessasse illud existimant. *De Rebus Christianorum, &c. p. 455.*

(*b*) Interjectis deinde annis viii. et xxx. pax Christianis fuit : nisi quod medio tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit. *Sul. Sever. l. 2. cap. 46. al. 32.*

(c) Pagi, that Sulpicius supposed, this persecution did not end before the year 211. in which the Emperour Severus died.

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It is also supposed by the same learned chronologer, that (d) the ceasing of this persecution, and the peace of the churches are hinted in a passage of Dion Cassius, who relates, that Antonin Caracalla, after killing his brother Geta, and committing other acts of cruelty, coming into the Senate said: *Let all bear, what is of great importance, at which all the world may rejoyce. Let all exils, whatever be their crimes, and however they have been condemned, be restored.* The same is in (e) Spartian. And (f) Christians may have been included in this act of indemnity.

And that the persecution continued some while after the death of Severus, is argued from Tertullian's book to the Proconsul Scapula, not writ before the year 211. or 212. For at that time the Christians underwent heavie sufferings. By that Proconsul (g) some seem to

(c) Ab anno autem 211. Severi emortuali ad annum 249. quo Decius persecutionem instauravit, anni 38. interjiciuntur. Quare Severus usque ad mortem suam Christianos vexavit, vel vexari permisit, quod perinde illis erat. *Pagi ann. 207. num. iii.*

(d) Pax itaque Ecclesiae non reddita, nisi post Severi interitum. Quod indicare videtur Dio. lib. 77. [p. 1290.] ubi, postquam retulit, Caracallam, Severi filium et successorem, occidisse fratrem Geta, ait, illum dixisse in Senatu: *Audite, inquit, rem maximam, ut totus terrarum orbis gaudeat. Omnes exules rei facti, cujusvis sceleris, et quomodocunque damnati sint, restituantur, &c.* Persecutio igitur Severiana non solum sanguinolenta, sed etiam longa exstitit. *Pagi ann. 207. num. iii.*

(e) Post hoc relegatis deportatisque re-ditum in patriam restituit. *Spartian. in Vita Anton. Carac. cap. 3. p. 710.*

(f) Quibus et includi Christianos, qui impietatis causa deportati fuerunt, non est negandum. *Basn. ann. 212. num. vi.*

(g) . . . pro veritate, pro Deo vivo cremamur. Nam et nunc a Praefide Legionis, et a Praefide Mauritaniae vexatur hoc nomen, sed gladio tenus, sicut a primordio mandatum est, animadverti in hujusmodi. *Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 88. A.*

Tillemont, *Persecution sous Severe*, art. vii. translates: *Le Lieutenant, qui commandoit la legion, qui residoit en Afrique, et le Gouverneur de la Mauritanie se contentoient de faire decapiter les Martyrs.* I rather think, that by *Legio* is here intended a place, or province, in Africa, so called.

A. D. 202. to have been condemned to the flames. And in some other places there were Governours, who inflicted capital punishments upon Christians: though they did not strive to aggravate their death by exquisite torments.

*Spartian's
Testimonie
to this
Persecu-
tion.*

IV. However, I do not intend to write at length the historie of this persecution. But I have been obliged to take some notice of it, not only upon account of the edict of Severus, but also out of regard to the testimonie of Spartian, a Heathen Author, one of the writers of the Augustan Historie, who flourished in the time of Diocletian, or soon after. He has mentioned not only the time of this persecution, but also the substance and design of the Emperour's edict, more particularly, than any of our Christian Authors.

In the Life of the Emperour Severus, he says: "Having (b) " passed through Antioch, he gave to his eldest son the manly gown, " and appointed him Consul with himself. And presently, whilst " they were yet in Syria, they entred upon their Consulship. After " that, having enlarged the stipends of the soldiers, he went for- " ward to Alexandria. In his journey through Palestine, he enacted " several laws. He forbad under a severe penalty, that any should " become Jews. He also published a like edict against the Christi- " ans."

This determines the begining of the persecution to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, the year of Christ, 202. when he and his son

ed. Cellarius may be consulted. Geogr. l. 3. cap. 13. p. 505. though he is not there speaking of a place in Africa. Posterior oppidum fuisse, non castra sola aliqujus legionis, licet origo et nomen his debeantur.

(b) Deinde, cum Antiochiam transisset, datâ civili togâ filio majori, secum eum

Consulem designavit, et statim in Syria consulatum inierunt. Post hoc dato stipendio cumulatiorē militibus, Alexandriam petiit. In itinere Palaestinis plurima jura fundavit. Judaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. *Spartian. Sever. cap. 16. 17. p. 617. 618.*

Ch. XXIII. *and Spartian's Testimonie to it.*

11

son Caracalla were Consuls together. And the design of the edict is represented to be to restrain the encrease of Christianity.

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Upon this edict Mr. Mosheim observes to this purpose. " These
" (i) words, says he, shew, that Severus enacted no new laws against
" the Christians. Nor did he enjoyn, that the religion itself, with
" the professors of it, should be extirpated. He only intended to
" hinder the encrease of the Church, and ordered such to be punish-
" ed, who should abandon the old religion of their ancestors, for
" the sake of the Christian. They therefore who were Christians
" by birth, and were such before the time of this edict, had nothing
" to fear from it. The old laws indeed, particularly the edict of
" Trajan, which was not repealed, might occasion them some trou-
" ble: but this new law of Severus affected not any, who were
" Christians before. Learned men, he says, are difficultly brought
" to allow of this interpretation, because they see, that many Chri-
" stians suffered in the time of this Emperour. Nevertheless it is
" very certain. For Spartian puts together the two edicts against
" the Jews and against the Christians. And they were both of the
" same tenour. Severus never did forbid the Jewish religion, nor
" C 2 " compell

(i) Haec verba docent; Severum non novas in Christianos leges tulisse, non religionem ipsam cum professoribus ejus extirpari jussisse, sed modum tantum statuere voluisse incrementis Ecclesiae, eosque puniri jussisse, qui a majorum sacris ad Christiana deficerent. Natis igitur Christianis, illis item, qui ante hoc edictum Christo nomen dederunt, antiquae quidem leges molestiae et periculi aliquid parere potuerunt, maxime celebre illud, quod abrogatum per sequentes leges haud erat, Trajani rescriptum. At ex hac nova Severi lege nihil ipsis timendum erat. Verum aegre hoc sibi persuadent viri eruditi. . . .

Componit Spartianus edictum adversus Judaeos cum edicto in Christianos, hocque ejusdem, cujus illud, formae fuisse observat. Atqui Severus neque Judaeorum religionem unquam vetuit, neque Judaicis parentibus natos Romana suscipere sacra coëgit, sed augeri tantum Judaeorum populum ex aliis populis noluit. Igitur nec Christianis, quum idem tantum in illos, quod in Judaeos, sanxerit, iniquiorem sese praebuit. Alias Severi leges in Christianos, praeter illam, cujus Spartianus meminit, tulisse, ab omni alienum est verisimilitudine. *Mosh. de Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 456.*

A. D.
202.

Severus is supposed to have been favorable to the Christians in the former part of his reign. Says Tertullian, in his book to the Proconsul Scapula, which we suppose to have been writ soon after the death of Severus, and the accession of his son, Antonin Caracalla: "And (b) Severus himself, father of Antonin, was favorable to the Christians. For when he came to be Emperour, he inquired after Proculus, a Christian, surnamed Torpacion, and steward to Euhodia, who had cured him, by anointing him with oyl, and kept him in his palace so long as he lived: whom Antonin also knew very well, he having been nursed by a Christian woman. Moreover Severus openly withstood the furie of the people against some men and women of the first quality, whom he knew to be of this sect. And was so far from bearing hard upon them, that he gave them an honorable testimonie." (***)

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To be corrected.

Page 12. for erected read enacted.

P. 16. l. 15. r. supposed to be the spirit of the law.

P. 29. l. 7. for adapt r. adopt.

P. 185. l. 8. for Cresiphon r. Ctesiphon.

P. 198. l. 2. for opinions r. opinion.

P. 208. l. 6. from the bottom, for improbably r. improbable.

P. 220. l. 9. for Christians r. Christian.

P. 248. l. 15. strike out the full point after centurie.

P. 252. l. 6. after mentiuntur put a full point.

In the Notes.

P. 73. note (l) l. Δεξιφ.

P. 185. lin. pen. l. Ctesiph.

P. 227. note (n) for p. 209. r. p. 115. 116.

N. B. In the alphabetical Table, in the article of *J. L. Mosheim*, near the end, for 295. should be read 195.

TESTI-

TESTIMONIES
OF
HEATHEN WRITERS
OF THE
THIRD CENTURY,
AND TO THE
Conversion of CONSTANTIN, the first Christian
Emperour.

TESTIMONIES

OF

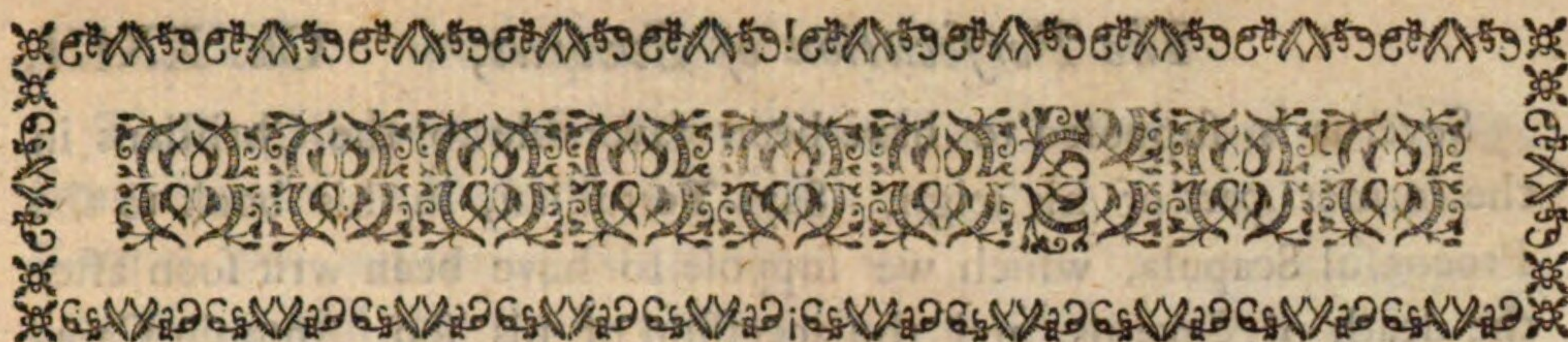
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*Testimonies of ancient Heathen Authors to
the Truth of the Christian Religion.*

C H A P. XXIII.

The Persecution of SEVERUS,

AND

SPARTIAN's Testimonie to it.

I. *The Time of the Reign of SEVERUS, and that for a while he was favorable to the Christians.* II. *Accounts of his Persecution from Christian Writers.* III. *How long it lasted.* IV. *His Edict against the Christians from Spartian, with Remarks.* V. *An Observation of Balduinus upon this Reign.*

I. **T**HE (a) reign of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS is computed from June 1. 193. to Febr. 4. 211. He reigned therefore seventeen years, eight months, and three days.

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*The Time
of his
Reign.*

(a) *Vid. Pagi ann. 211. num. ii. et Basnag. 193. num. xv.*

VOL. III.

B 2

Severus

A. D.
202.

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A. D. 202. Severus, very many of the saints obtained the crown of martyrdom in several countreys."

Sulpicius Severus (*b*) calls this the sixth persecution, and observes particularly, that *Leonidas*, father of Origen, then suffered.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius (*i*) this is reckoned the fifth persecution, and is placed at the tenth year of Severus. In his Ecclesiastical Historie he does not, I think, expressly say, when it began. But he intimates, that (*k*) it was very grievous in the tenth year of Severus; and afterwards. And, according to him, the persecution was general, and very grievous. So he begins the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical Historie. "And (*l*) when Severus raised a persecution " against the churches, there were every where in all the churches " glorious martyrdoms of the champions for religion. But especially " were they numerous at Alexandria, to which city, as to the no- " blest stadium of God, were brought the most eminent champions " from Thebais, and from all Egypt, that by invincible patience " under various torments, and divers sorts of death, they might ob- " tain from God a glorious crown." He then relates the death of *Leonidas*, Origen's father, who was beheaded: and afterwards the deaths of several others, and particularly, (*m*) *Potamiaena*, a virgin, who with her mother *Marcella* was burnt to death, by order of *Aquila*, the Judge, and as he relates, in a slow and painful manner, scalding pitch having been by little and little poured upon the several members of her body, from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head. Which nevertheless she endured with great patience and fortitude.

He

(*b*) Sexta deinde, Severo imperante, Christianorum vexatio fuit. Quo tempore Leonidas, Origenis pater, sacrum in martyrio sanguinem fudit. *Sul. Sever. l. 2. cap. 32. al. 46.*

(*i*) *Chron. p. 172.*

(*k*) *H. E. l. 6. cap. 2. p. 201. C.*

(*l*) Ως δὲ καὶ Σεβήρος διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκίνει, λαμπρὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατὰ πάντα τόπων ἀπετελεῖτο μαρτύρια. κ. λ. *Cap. i. p. 201. A. B.*

(*m*) *Ibid. cap. v.*

Ch. XXIII. and Spartian's Testimonie to it.

7

He says, that (n) at that time there were innumerable martyrdoms. And soon after, in a following chapter: "At (o) that time
" lived Judas, who published a Commentarie upon Daniel's seventy
" weeks, concluding his computation of the times at the tenth year
" of Severus. Who likewise thought, that the so much talked of
" coming of Antichrist was then at hand. So strangely did the rais-
" ing that persecution disturb the minds of many."

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202.

That Commentarie of Judas concluded at the tenth of Severus. But it is likely, that the work was not finished untill some while after that year. He therefore had been a witness of the sufferings of his brethren, after the beginning of the persecution, before he published his work.

At this time suffered in Africa, at Tuburbium, or, as others, more probably, at Carthage, *Perpetua*, and *Felicitas*, and their companions: of whom (p) notice was taken formerly.

During this reign likewise the *Scillitan Martyrs* (q) are supposed to have suffered in Africa: though the Acts of their Martyrdom, which we now have, are not allowed by all to be genuine.

Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, who afterwards suffered martyrdom (r) in the time of Decius, was imprisoned (s) now.

Tertullian has mentioned another Martyr, named *Rutilius*, who suffered in this persecution, though the year is not exactly known. *Rutilius* (t) had absconded, and fled, from place to place, and had
likewise

(n) Καὶ μὲν οὖν ὅσων τοῖς κατὰ μαρτύριον ἀναδεδειγμένων σεφάνοις. Cap. 2. p. 202. A.

(o) Cap. 7. p. 208.

(p) See Credib. vol. 4. p. 423. &c.

(q) Vid. Basnag. ann. 211. num. viii. Ruinart. Acta Mart. p. 84. &c. Tillem. la persecu. de Severe. §. iii. Mosheim. de Aetate Apol. Tertull. num. x.

(r) Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 39. et 46.

(s) L. 6. cap. xi.

(t) Rutilius sanctissimus Martyr, cum toties fugisset persecutionem de loco in locum, etiam periculum ut putabat, nummis redemisset, post totam securitatem, quam sibi prospexerat, ex inopinato apprehensus, et Praefidi oblatus, tormentis dissipatus, credo pro fugae castigatione, dehinc ignibus datus, passionem, quam vitarat misericordiae Dei retulit. De Fuga. &c. cap. 5. p. 693.

A. D. 202. likewise given money to some officers to secure himself from suffering. And yet, he was at length apprehended, and through the mercie of God suffered very patiently: though he was at first grievously tormented, and then burnt alive. Tertullian could not avoid speaking honorably of him: though he then condemned both flight in persecution, and pecuniarie redemptions.

And in his book to Scapula (*u*) he mentions *Manilus*, an inhabitant of Adrumetum, whom that Proconsul had himself condemned to be devoured by wild beasts.

I do not mention *Irenaeus* here, as some do, because I do not think he died by martyrdom, as (*x*) was formerly shewn.

How long
it lasted.

III. Mr. Dodwell (*y*) computed the persecution under Severus to have lasted two years only. Basnage (*z*) shews, that it lasted more than six years. Mosheim (*a*) observes, that some Christians suffered in the begining of the reign of Caracalla. "They therefore, says he, judge rightly, who think, that this persecution did not end before the death of Severus."

Sulpicius Severus having spoken of this persecution, says, "that (*b*) from that time to the persecution of Decius, the Church enjoyed peace eight and thirty years, excepting some disturbance given to the Christian Clergie by Maximin." It is hence argued by

Pa-

(*u*) Tibi quoque optamus admonitionem solam fuisse, quod cum Adrumeticum Manilum ad bestias damnasses, et statim haec vexatio subsecuta est. *Ad Scap. cap. 3. p. 87.*

(*x*) *Credib. P. 2. Vol. i. p. 251.*

(*y*) Durasse autem constat duobus annis. *Diff. Cypr. xi. num. xli.*

(*z*) Plus igitur sexennio persecutio continuata est. *Basn. ann. 202. num. ii.*

(*a*) De fine hujus belli silent veteres. Quum vero certis auctoribus, maxime ex

Tertulliano, constet sub Severi filio Caracalla, nonnullis in locis Christianos vexatos esse, recte illi judicare videntur, qui non ante mortem Severi cessasse illud existimant. *De Rebus Christianorum, &c. p. 455.*

(*b*) Interjectis deinde annis viii. et xxx. pax Christianis fuit: nisi quod medio tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit. *Sul. Sever. l. 2. cap. 46. al. 32.*

Ch. XXIII. and Spartian's Testimonie to it.

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(c) Pagi, that Sulpicius supposed, this persecution did not end before the year 211. in which the Emperour Severus died.

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It is also supposed by the same learned chronologer, that (d) the ceasing of this persecution, and the peace of the churches are hinted in a passage of Dion Cassius, who relates, that Antonin Caracalla, after killing his brother Geta, and committing other acts of cruelty, coming into the Senate said: *Let all bear, what is of great importance, at which all the world may rejoyce. Let all exils, whatever be their crimes, and however they have been condemned, be restored.* The same is in (e) Spartian. And (f) Christians may have been included in this act of indemnity.

And that the persecution continued some while after the death of Severus, is argued from Tertullian's book to the Proconsul Scapula, not writ before the year 211. or 212. For at that time the Christians underwent heavie sufferings. By that Proconsul (g) some seem to

(c) Ab anno autem 211. Severi emortuali ad annum 249. quo Decius persecutionem instauravit, anni 38. interjiciuntur. Quare Severus usque ad mortem suam Christianos vexavit, vel vexari permisit, quod perinde illis erat. *Pagi ann. 207. num. iii.*

(d) Pax itaque Ecclesiae non reddita, nisi post Severi interitum. Quod indicare videtur Dio. lib. 77. [p. 1290.] ubi, postquam retulit, Caracallam, Severi filium et successorem, occidisse fratrem Geta, ait, illum dixisse in Senatu: *Audite, inquit, rem maximam, ut totus terrarum orbis gaudeat. Omnes exules rei facti, cujusvis sceleris, et quomodocunque damnati sint, restituantur, &c.* Persecutio igitur Severiana non solum sanguinolenta, sed etiam longa exstitit. *Pagi ann. 207. num. iii.*

(e) Post hoc relegatis deportatisque re-ditum in patriam restituit. *Spartian. in Vita Anton. Carac. cap. 3. p. 710.*

(f) Quibus et includi Christianos, qui impietatis causa deportati fuerunt, non est negandum. *Basn. ann. 212. num. vi.*

(g) . . . pro veritate, pro Deo vivo cremamur. Nam et nunc a Praefide Legionis, et a Praefide Mauritaniae vexatur hoc nomen, sed gladio tenus, sicut a primordio mandatum est, animadverti in hujusmodi. *Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 88. A.*

Tillemont, *Persecution sous Severe*, art. vii. translates: *Le Lieutenant, qui commandoit la legion, qui residoit en Afrique, et le Gouverneur de la Mauritanie se contentoient de faire decapiter les Martyrs.* I rather think, that by *Legio* is here intended a place, or province, in Africa, so called.

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to have been condemned to the flames. And in some other places there were Governours, who inflicted capital punishments upon Christians: though they did not strive to aggravate their death by exquisite torments.

*Spartian's
Testimonie
to this
Persecu-
tion.*

IV. However, I do not intend to write at length the historie of this persecution. But I have been obliged to take some notice of it, not only upon account of the edict of Severus, but also out of regard to the testimonie of Spartian, a Heathen Author, one of the writers of the Augustan Historie, who flourished in the time of Diocletian, or soon after. He has mentioned not only the time of this persecution, but also the substance and design of the Emperour's edict, more particularly, than any of our Christian Authors.

In the Life of the Emperour Severus, he says: "Having (b) " passed through Antioch, he gave to his eldest son the manly gown, " and appointed him Consul with himself. And presently, whilst " they were yet in Syria, they entred upon their Consulship. After " that, having enlarged the stipends of the soldiers, he went for- " ward to Alexandria. In his journey through Palestine, he enacted " several laws. He forbad under a severe penalty, that any should " become Jews. He also published a like edict against the Christi- " ans."

This determines the begining of the persecution to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, the year of Christ, 202. when he and his son

ed. Cellarius may be consulted. Geogr. l. 3. cap. 13. p. 505. though he is not there speaking of a place in Africa. Posterior oppidum fuisse, non castra sola aliqujus legionis, licet origo et nomen his debeantur.

(b) Deinde, cum Antiochiam transisset, datâ civili togâ filio majori, secum eum

Consulem designavit, et statim in Syria consulatum inierunt. Post hoc dato stipendio cumlatiore militibus, Alexandriam petiit. In itinere Palaestinis plurima jura fundavit. Judaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. *Spartian. Sever. cap. 16. 17. p. 617. 618.*

Ch. XXIII. *and Spartian's Testimonie to it.*

11

son Caracalla were Consuls together. And the design of the edict is represented to be to restrain the encrease of Christianity.

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Upon this edict Mr. Mosheim observes to this purpose. " These
" (i) words, says he, shew, that Severus enacted no new laws against
" the Christians. Nor did he enjoyn, that the religion itself, with
" the professors of it, should be extirpated. He only intended to
" hinder the encrease of the Church, and ordered such to be punish-
" ed, who should abandon the old religion of their ancestors, for
" the sake of the Christian. They therefore who were Christians
" by birth, and were such before the time of this edict, had nothing
" to fear from it. The old laws indeed, particularly the edict of
" Trajan, which was not repealed, might occasion them some trou-
" ble: but this new law of Severus affected not any, who were
" Christians before. Learned men, he says, are difficultly brought
" to allow of this interpretation, because they see, that many Chri-
" stians suffered in the time of this Emperour. Nevertheless it is
" very certain. For Spartian puts together the two edicts against
" the Jews and against the Christians. And they were both of the
" same tenour. Severus never did forbid the Jewish religion, nor
" C 2 " compell

(i) Haec verba docent; Severum non no-
vas in Christianos leges tulisse, non religi-
onem ipsam cum professoribus ejus extir-
pari jussisse, sed modum tantum statuere
voluisse incrementis Ecclesiae, eosque puniri
jussisse, qui a majorum sacris ad Christia-
na deficerent. Natis igitur Christianis, il-
lis item, qui ante hoc edictum Christo no-
men dederunt, antiquae quidem leges mo-
lestiae et periculi aliquid parere potue-
runt, maxime celebre illud, quod abroga-
tum per sequentes leges haud erat, Tra-
jani rescriptum. At ex hac nova Severi
lege nihil ipsis timendum erat. Verum
aegre hoc sibi persuadent viri eruditi. . . .

Componit Spartianus edictum adversus Ju-
daeos cum edicto in Christianos, hocque
ejusdem, cujus illud, formae fuisse obser-
vat. Atqui Severus neque Judaeorum re-
ligionem unquam vetuit, neque Judaicis
parentibus natos Romana suscipere sacra
coëgit, sed augeri tantum Judaeorum po-
pulum ex aliis populis noluit. Igitur nec
Christianis, quum idem tantum in illos,
quod in Judaeos, sanxerit, iniquiorem
sefe praebuit. Alias Severi leges in Chri-
stianos, praeter illam, cujus Spartianus
meminit, tulisse, ab omni alienum est ve-
risimilitudine. *Mosh. de Reb. Christian.*
ante C. M. p. 456.

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“compell men born of Jewish parents to embrace the Roman rites.
 “He only forbid the encrease of Jews by the addition of other people to them. Therefore neither did he enact any thing more severe against the Christians. For the two edicts were both alike.
 “Nor can there be any good reason to believe, that Severus published any other edict against the Christians, beside that mentioned by Spartian.”

So says that learned author, upon which I must make some free observations.

First of all Mr. Mosheim seems to say, that *Severus erected not any new laws against the Christians.* Which is not the truth. For he did enact a new law against them. It is mentioned by Spartian. And Mr. Mosheim himself grants, and allows, and supposes it. And after his manner he explains the meaning and design of it.

Secondly, Mr. Mosheim has no right to diminish the sufferings of the Christians in the reign of this Emperour. He earnestly contends, that Tertullian's Apologie was composed in the year of Christ 198. before there was any law of Severus against the Christians: and he has published a long dissertation (*k*) to prove it. Nor was Mr. Tillemont (*l*) very averse to that date of the Apologie: though he generally speaks of it, as writ in the year 200. And according to that later date, it was writ before Severus had made any edict against the Christians.

Well, what was the state of the Christians at that time, even before the edict of Severus, which is allowed to be rightly dated at the year of Christ 202. “They (*m*) underwent, our learned author says, a multiplicity of the greatest sufferings.” “From (*n*) that Apologie of Tertullian it appears, that they were crucified, hung
 “upon

(*k*) *De Aetate Apologetici Tertulliani.*
 &c.

(*l*) *Tertullien. art. v. at the begining.*

(*m*) Hoc loco nihil mihi propositum est aliud, quam ut ante ann. cii. quo Severi in

Christianos edicta publice rogata esse concedo, infinitam jam malorum magnitudinem illis exhibitam esse, planum faciam.
Diff. de Aetate Apol. num. vii.

(*n*) Perversissimi ergo judices non legibus

"upon stakes, burnt alive, thrown to wild beasts, condemned to the mines, banished into desert islands." I have put down no more than a part of the list of their sufferings, extracted by Mosheim himself from that Apologie of Tertullian. And moreover, as that learned man likewise observes, "the (o) magistrates then transgressed the law of Trajan. They were not contented to punish those who were brought before them. They also sought for them to be punished."

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Such were the sufferings of the Christians then. And were they abated, and restrained afterwards, when a new edict was published against them? No, certainly, they were encreased. "If (p) these things were done, whilst the Emperour was as yet no enemy to them, and the ancient laws against them were in a manner silent, and those which were favorable to them, were yet in being: what may we suppose to have been done, when Severus was provoked, and not only confirmed the old laws against them, but added also severe laws of his own." They are the words of Mosheim himself. For certain, the persecution then became more violent, and more general, than it had been before. As this (q) learned writer himself acknowledgeth.

Never-

bus obtemperabant, sed in manifestas leges vexandis Christianis peccabant. Suppliciorum atrocitas par erat odio, quo ferebantur Christianorum hostes. Apol. cap. xii. *Crucibus et stipitibus impositis Christianos . . . unguis eraditis latera Christianorum . . . Cervices ponimus . . . ad bestias impellimur . . . ignibus urimur . . . in metalla damnamur . . . in insulis relegamur . . .* Eadem fere repetit cap. 30. *Mosheim de Reb. Christ. &c. p. 255.*

(o) Tanta vero erat persecutionis hujus immanitas et gravitas, ut ipsa etiam Trajani lex, quae inquiri Christianos vetabat, negligenter. Explorabantur enim conventus eorum, et ad Deum colendum congregati sine accusatore abducebantur. Cap. vii. *Quotidie obsidemur, quotidie prodimur, in ipsis plurimum coetibus et con-*

gregationibus nostris opprimimur. Id. ib. p. 254.

(p) Haec omnia fiebant, Imperatore Christianis nondum inimico, et antiquis in eos legibus quiescentibus quodammodo, et per alias clementiores quasi oblitteratis. Quid factum fuisse putabimus, Severo exardescente, atque veteres non modo leges firmante, verum novas etiam severiores rogante? *Ibid. p. 255.*

(q) Haec calamitas valde augebatur, quum tertio hujus seculi anno Imperator ipse animum erga Christianos, incertum quibus de causis, quodammodo mutaret, atque proposito edicto, cives Romanos sub gravi poena ad Christianam religionem a majorum sacris transire vetaret. *Ib. p. 455.*

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Nevertheless he will say something to mitigate the guilt of their enemies. For he says, "that (r) the Christians fomented the persecution against themselves by a custom, which now for some while had obtained among them, of redeeming their lives and safety by presents of money made to the Presidents, or other magistrates."

Undoubtedly such things were done by some, but not by so many, nor so often, as is insinuated by Tertullian: who, when a Montanist, equally (s) condemned flight in persecution, and pecuniarie redemptions. Nor can there be any good reason, why this writer, in accounting for the sufferings of the Christians in this persecution, should forget, as it were, the common hatred and enmity of men toward them, and (t) almost entirely ascribe all their afflictions to the avarice of Governours, stimulated and allured by the forwardness of Christians themselves, to redeem their own, or their friends safety by pecuniarie presents.

I do

(r) Malis his, variis ex causis natis, ipsi sine dubio Christiani alimenta suppeditabant per consuetudinem, quae ab aliquo tempore, approbantibus episcopis, inter eos invaluerat, salutem et vitam argento magistratibus oblato redimendi. Praefides enim et magistratus pecuniae avidi Christianos saepe invadebant, et pauperiorum quosdam necari jubebant, quo ditiores fortunis suis emungerent, et ecclesiarum thesauris rem suam locupletarent. *Ibid.* p. 453.

(s) Ultro igitur de hoc tibi suggeram, definiens persecutionem, quam constat non esse fugiendam, proinde nec redimendam. Pretium interest. Ceterum, sicut fuga redemptio gratuita est, ita redemptio nummaria fuga est. *De Fugâ in Pers. cap. 12, p. 697. Vid. cap. 10. et 11.*

(t) Oriente seculo multis in provinciis Romanis varie affligebatur res Christiana. Haec vero calamitas crescebat, quum A. D. cciii. Imperator Severus, Christianis alioquin haud inimicus, lege lata prohiberet, ne quis majorum religionem cum Christiana aut cum Judaica commutaret. Ut enim haec lex Christianos non damnet, sed progressus tantum Christianae religionis cohiberet, per opportunam tamen avaris et injustis praesidibus et magistratibus occasionem suppeditabat Christianos vexandi, et plurimos inopum necandi, quo ditiores ad periculum argento amovendum invitarent. *Moshem. Institut. Hist. Ecc. p. 112. Vid. supra not. (r)*

I do by no means think, that there was any other edict of Severus against the Christians, beside that mentioned by Spartian. But, possibly (u) he has not fully expressed the whole design of it. There was at the same time an edict published against the Jews. Nevertheless the edict against the Christians might be somewhat different. Whether it was, or not; it is manifest from Tertullian, and Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical writers, that after the tenth of Severus, there was a general persecution against the Christians, wherein many suffered. And though the edict was exactly, as Spartian says, the publication of it would give occasion for Heathens of all sorts, both common people and magistrates, to shew their enmity to the Christians: especially, as the rescript of Trajan was still in force. Nor need it be supposed, that they, who were unfriendly to the Christians, would be scrupulously exact to the terms of the edict, and forbear to prosecute, or condemn any, beside new converts. It is certain, they did not forbear others. For many, who were born of Christian parents, or had been Christians by profession a good while before this edict of Severus, suffered martyrdom in this persecution. Trajan's rescript forbids searching for Christians. Nevertheless, that part of his rescript was oftentimes transgressed, or neglected by Presidents, who published orders, that they should be sought for.

Mr. Mosheim says, that (x) the words of the edict of Severus, as represented by Spartian, *shew, that Severus only intended to hinder the encrease of the Church, and ordered such to be punished, who forsook the old religion of their ancestors, for the sake of the Christian. They therefore, who were Christians by birth, or were such, before the time of this edict, had nothing to fear from it.*

But I very much suspect this observation to be of no moment. For all persecuting edicts may have been in this form. They may have been

(u) See Tillemont. *Persecution sous Severe* art. iv. p. 158. 159. Bruxelles.

(x) See before. p. 11.

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been made so, to give them a more specious appearance, and to cover the real cruelty and malignity of them. The severest edicts of the worst persecutors may have been expressed in the same terms, and in the same form, with this of Severus. So says the Emperour *Maximin*, one of that sort, at the begining of his letter to *Sabinus*. “It (y) is well known to yourself, and to all the world, that our “ Lords and fathers, *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, when they observed, “ that almost all men were forsaking the worship of the Gods, and “ joyning themselves to the sect of the Christians, did rightly ordain, “ that all who had forsaken the worship of their immortal Gods, “ should be recalled to the worship of the Gods, by public chastise- “ ment and punishment.”

The letter of this law might affect new converts only, who had forsaken Gentilism, and gone over to the Christians. But that cannot be supposed to the spirit of the law, or the intention of the makers of it.

Upon the whole, I can discern little weight in Mr. *Mosheim*'s observations upon this edict of Severus: and still think, that the common opinion of learned men concerning the persecution of Severus is very right.

An Ob-
servation
of Baldu-
inus upon
this Reign.

V. I have been longer here, than I at first intended. And yet I have still one observation more to take notice of. *Balduinus*, in the place before cited, says: “ *Papinian* (z) was Prefect of the Praetorium in this

(y) Καὶ παρὰ τῇ σῇ σεβρότητι καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώποις φανερόν ἐστι πέποιθα, τὸς δεσπότας ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ Μαξιμιανὸν τὸς ἡμετέρας πατέρας, ἥνικα συνείδον σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους παραλειφθείσης τῆς τῶν Θεῶν θρησκείας, τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἑαυτὲς συμμιχότας ὁρθῶς διατεταχέναι πάντας ἀνθρώπους τὸς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν Θεῶν τῶν ἀθα-
νάτων θρησκείας ἀναχωρήσαντας, προδήλως κο-
λάσει καὶ τιμωρία εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν τῶν Θεῶν ἀνακληθῆναι. *Euseb. H. E. l. 9. cap. ix. p. 360. C.*

(z) Certe temporibus Severi proconsulem eum [Claudium Herminianum] fuisse, facile credo: quibus et Papinianus praetorio praefectus erat. Sed saepe mirari cogor,

“ this reign. And he says, he has often wondered, that Papinian
 “ did not take care to restrain the barbarous fierceness of the Presi-
 “ dents, who treated the Christians with so much cruelty : or at least
 “ find out a method to reduce their judicial proceedings to some good
 “ order, and the common rules of equity.”

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We must therefore suppose, that either Papinian did not under-
 stand the principles of religious and civil liberty, or that he was not
 able to establish all the schemes of equity, which he had formed
 in his mind.

cogor, Papinianum, qui veluti summus
 tunc erat Praetor, auctorem non fuisse,
 ut barbara illa feritas praesidium Christia-
 nos exagitantium aliquando reprimeretur :

saltem ad aliquam judiciorum legem, ra-
 tionem, ordinem, revocaretur. *Balduin.*
de Edict. Princ. Roman. p. 99. 100.



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D

CHAP.

C H A P. XXIV.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

- I. *His Time and Work.* II. *The Inscription of the Altar to the Unknown God, in Acts xvii. 23. illustrated by a paragraph in this Author.* III. *Whether he refers to the Christian Eucharist.*

*His Time
and Work.*

I. **D**IOGENES (a) surnamed LAËRTIUS, as is generally supposed, from *Laërtes*, his native place, a town or castle in Cilicia, who wrote of the Lives and Opinions of the most famous Philosophers in ten books, flourished, as (b) Vossius thinks in the time of *Antonin* the Pious, or soon afterwards. Others (c) have thought it more probable, that he lived under *Severus*, and his successors, and that his book of the Lives of the Philosophers was writ about the year 210. Where also I shall place him.

II. Says

(a) *Voss. de Histor. Gr. l. 2. cap. 13. Tillem. H. Emp. Severe art. 16. Rollin. Hist. Anc. T. 12. p. 266. Diogene Laeree. Diction. de Morery. Crevier's Hist. of the Roman Emperours. Vol. 8. p. 148.*

(b) *Nempe vixit Laërtius sub Antonino Pio, vel paullo post. Voss. ut supra.*

(c) *Tillemont as above.*

II. Says St. Luke Acts xvii. 16. . . 23. *Now while Paul waited for Silas and Timothie at Athens, his spirit was stirred within him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatrie. Therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews, and the devout persons : [or proselytes :] and in the market daily with them that met him. Then certain philosophers, of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics, encountered him. And some said : What will this babler say ? Others : He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods, because he preached to them Jesus and the resurrection. And they took him, and brought him to the Areopagus, saying : May we know, what this new doctrine is, whereof thou speakest ? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears. We would know therefore, what these things mean. (For all the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.) Paul therefore standing up in the midst of the Areopagus said : Ye men of Athens, I perceive, that ye are in all things very religious. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription : TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye worship without knowing him, Him do I declare unto you. After which follows the rest of the Apostle's excellent discourse.*

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The In-
scription
to the Un-
known
God, il-
lustrated.

The introduction to this speech was distinctly considered (d) formerly : and the propriety and decence of the Apostle's addresse to the Athenians were clearly shewn.

I now intend to consider the inscription, *to the unknown God*, of which (*) he here reminds the Athenians, and upon which he argues,

D 2

(d) See the *Credibility of the Gospel-History*, Part i. B. i. ch. viii. p. 488. . . 430. the third edition.

(*) " The Being and Attributes of
" God appear to have been known to the
" philosophers and sages of antiquity : and

" that only seems to have been unknown
" to them, which is also unknown to us,
" namely, the mode of his existence :
" the knowledge of which is either unne-
" cessary, or else could not be revealed to
" such creatures as we are, who cannot com-

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gues so rationally. For, if I mistake not, I have now an opportunity to illustrate this text by a paragraph of Diogenes in the Life of Epimenides. Which therefore I shall here transcribe at length, and then explain.

Epimenides is supposed to have been contemporarie with Solon, and to have lived in the forty sixth Olympiad, almost six-hundred years before the nativity of our Saviour. And Laërtius has given us a letter of Epimenides sent to Solon ††.

Diogenes Laërtius, having related some strange things of Epimenides, goes on : “ At (e) this time the fame of Epimenides was very
“ great

“ comprehend, or have any idea of *spirit*.
“ . . . It was in this sense, that God was
“ *unknown* to the sages of antiquity : and
“ to this unknown God, I doubt not but
“ one or other of them erected the famous
“ *altar*, which St. Paul took so much notice of, and attributed to the superstition
“ of the Athenians. But in this I cannot
“ help thinking there was some mistake.
“ An *altar*, with such an inscription,
“ could hardly be set up by the Priests of
“ that countrey, because it rather tended
“ to destroy superstition, and subvert their
“ power and influence, than to establish
“ either. Their Gods were *local*, their
“ names and temples publicly known, and
“ their priests strove who should gain the
“ greatest number of profitable votaries.
“ This altar then must surely have been
“ erected by some philosopher, to the
“ *One True God*, who was known by the
“ effects of his infinite power, wisdom,
“ and goodness : but *unknown* as to the
“ mode of his existence. The one true
“ God, (whom we now adore,) was neither known, nor worshiped by the ig-

“ norant, deceived, Heathen multitude.
“ Neither was he *ignorantly* worshiped by
“ philosophers. For they might, and
“ every one who exercises his reason in
“ the inquiry, may, from the works of
“ creation, trace out the Being and Attributes of God.” *The Morality of the N. T. digested under various heads.* p. 50. . . . 52.

So says the anonymous Writer of the book just mentioned. I do not perceive, what is *the mistake*, which is here imputed, or intended to be imputed to St. Paul. Nor indeed am I able to understand, or make out a consistent sense in the rest which is here said. However, it may be all clear to some, and important likewise. I therefore thought it not improper, that these observations should lye before my readers, in a note at left, that such use may be made of them, as is judged to be reasonable.

†† *Diogen. La. l. i. §. 113. p. 72.*

(e) Γνωσθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι θεοφί-
λέατος εἶναι ὑπελήφθη. Ὅθεν Ἀθηναίοις τῷ
τε λοιμῷ κατεχομένοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία καθή-
ρα.

“ great among all the Greeks, and he was supposed to be in great
 “ favour with the Gods. The Athenians being afflicted with a pes-
 “ tilence, they were directed by the Pyrhian Oracle to get their city
 “ purified by expiation. They therefore sent Nicias, son of Nice-
 “ ratus in a ship to Crete, inviting Epimenides to come to them. He
 “ coming thither in the forty sixth Olympiad, purified their city,
 “ and delivered them from the pestilence in this manner. Taking
 “ several sheep, some black, others white, he had them up to the
 “ Areopagus. And then let them go where they would. And gave
 “ orders to those who followed them, wherever any one of them
 “ should ly down, to sacrifice it to the God, to whom it belonged.
 “ And so the plague ceased. Hence it has come to pass, that to this
 “ present time may be found in the boroughs of the Athenians ano-
 “ nymous altars, a memorial of the expiation then made.”

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This paragraph, I think, will mightily illustrate the text above cited from the Acts. But before I make my observations, it may be not amiss to allege the observations of divers Christian interpreters, both ancient and modern.

Jerome in his comment upon the first chapter of Titus, ver 12. says: “ The (f) inscription of the altar at Athens was not *to the*
 “ *un-*

ραι τὴν πόλιν. Ὅι δὲ πέμπουσι ναῦν τε καὶ Νι-
 κίαν τὸν Νικηράτη εἰς Κρήτην, καλεῖντες Εὔριπ-
 νίδην. Καὶ ὅς ἐλθὼν Ολυμπιάδι τεσσαρακοστῶ
 ἔκτῃ ἐκάθηρεν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἔπαυσε τὸν λοιμὸν
 τούτου τὸν τρόπον. Λαβὼν πρόβατα μέλανά τε
 καὶ λευκά, ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρειὸν πάγον· καὶ κεί-
 θεν ἔιασεν ἵεναι οἱ βίλοιτο, προσάξας τοῖς ἀκο-
 λήτοις, ἔνθα αὖ κατακλίνοι αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, θύειν
 τῷ προσήκοντι Θεῷ καὶ ἔτως λῆξαι τὸν κακόν.
 Ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν εὐρεῖν κατὰ τὰς δῆμους τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους, ὑπόμνημα τῆς τότε
 γενομένης ἐξιλάσεως. *Diog. Laërt. in Epi-*
menide. l. i. segm. 110. p. 71. 72.

(f) Nec mirum, si pro opportunitate
 temporis, gentilium poetarum versibus a-
 butatur: quum etiam de inscriptione arae
 aliqua commutans, ad Athenienses loquu-
 tus sit: *Pertansiens enim, inquit, et con-*
templans culturas vestras, inveni et aram, in
quâ superscriptum est: Ignoto Deo. Quod
ergo ignorantes colitis, hoc ego annuncio vo-
bis. Inscriptio autem arae non ita erat,
 ut Paulus asseruit, *Ignoto Deo*, sed ita:
Diis Asiae et Europae, et Africae, diis ig-
notis et peregrinis. Verum quia Paulus
 non diis indigebat ignotis, sed uno tan-
 tum ignoto Deo, singulari verbo usus est.
 &c.

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"unknown God, as Paul quotes it, but to the Gods of Asia, and Europe, and Africa, unknown and strange Gods." He speaks to the like purpose in another (g) place: and supposeth, that the Apostle had not quoted the inscription exactly, but dextrously applied it to his own purpose.

Chrysostom in a homilie upon the Acts of the Apostles, speaks to this purpose. "I (h) found an altar with this inscription, to the Unknown God. What is that! The Athenians, who in a long tract of time had received various gods from their neighbours: as the temple of Minerva, Pan, and others from elsewhere, apprehensive that there might be still some other God, unknown to them, who was worshiped elsewhere in other places, for the greater safety erected also an altar to him. But because the God was not manifest, they put upon it this inscription, to the Unknown God. This God Paul says is Jesus Christ, or rather the God of the universe. Whom therefore you ignorantly worship, says he, him declare I unto you."

So speaks Chrysostom. Nor do I perceive him to have had any doubt about the genuinenesse of the inscription, as composed in the singular number, to the Unknown God.

Ne-

Exc. In ep. ad Titum. cap. i. T. 4. P. i.
p. 420.

(g) Ac ne parum hoc esset, ductor Christiani exercitus, et orator invictus pro Christo causam agens, etiam inscriptionem fortuitam, arte torquet in argumentum fidei. Didicerat enim a vero David extorquere de manibus hostium, et Goliae superbissimi caput proprio mucrone truncare. Ad magnum. ep. 83. T. 4. P. 2. p. 655.

(h) ... εὐρον καὶ βωμὸν, ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο, Ἀγνώσω Θεῷ. Τί ἐστὶ τῆτο; Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι;

ἐπειδὴν κατὰ καιρὸς πολλὰς εἰδέξαντο θεοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερορίας, οἷον, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, τὸν Πᾶνα, καὶ ἄλλας ἀλλαχόθεν, δεδοικότας, μήποτε καὶ ἄλλος τις ἢ αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰδὲν γνώριμος, θεραπευόμενος δὲ ἀλλαχῇ, ὑπὲρ πλείονος δῆθεν ἀσφαλείας, καὶ τέτρω βωμὸν ἔστησαν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκ ἧν δῆλος ὁ Θεός, ἐπεγέγραπτο, Ἀγνώσω Θεῷ. Τῆτον ἐν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι Παῦλος λέγει· μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν πάντων Θεόν. Ὅν ἐν ἀγνοῦντες, φησιν εὐσεβεῖτε, τῆτον ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. In Act. Apost. hom. 38. T. 9. p. 287. A. Bened.

Nevertheless Theophylact (i) and Oecumenius (k) after saying the same that is in Chrysostom, add : that the whole of the inscription was to this purpose. *To the Gods of Asia, and Europe, and Libya, to the unknown and strange God.*

Isidore of Pelusium has a letter upon this subject, which begins in this manner. "There (l) were, as is said, two causes of the " inscription of the altar at Athens, *to the unknown God.* And having taken notice of the second occasion, which was a pestilence, he " says, that (m) after their deliverance the Athenians erected a temple and altar, with this inscription, to the Unknown God." Nor do I perceive, that there is, throughout that letter any the least intimation, that there was at Athens any altar inscribed *to unknown Gods* in the plural number.

There is therefore great inaccuracy in the quotation of Isidore of Pelusium, which is in Mr. *Wetstein's* New Testament. For (n) there he is quoted, as saying, that *the whole inscription of the altar, was to the Gods of Asia, Europe, and Libya, the unknown and strange God.* Which indeed is very agreeable to Theophylact and Oecumenius, as just seen. But Isidore says nothing of that kind.

We have seen therefore two ancient Christian writers, *Chrysostom* and *Isidore of Pelusium*, in the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, who supposed, that the inscription at Athens was in the singular number, as St. Paul quotes it.

The opinions of learned moderns have been different. Many maintain the genuineness of the inscription, as cited by St. Paul.

But

(i) *Theoph.* in *Act. Ap.* p. 151.

(k) Εἰς δὲ πᾶσα τὰ βωμὴ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αὐτῆς Θεοῖς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης Θεῶ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ. *Oecum. in Act. Ap.* p. 137.

(l) Δύο φασὶν αἰτίας εἶναι, τὴν ἐπιγραφῆσθαι Ἀθήνῃσι τῷ βωμῷ Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ. κ. λ. *Ibid.* l. 4. ep. 69.

(m) . . . ναὸν δεινόμενοι καὶ βωμὸν, ἐπιγράφαντες, Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ. *Ibid.*

(n) Isidorus iv. 69. Ἡ πᾶσα τὰ βωμὴ ἐπιγραφὴ, Θεοῖς Ἀσίας, καὶ Εὐρώπης, καὶ Λιβύης, Θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ. *Wetsten. in Act. Ap.* cap. xviii. 23.

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But Le Clerc says, that (o) though the inscription was in the plural number, St. Paul was in the right to allege it in the singular number.

In the year 1724. was published at Cambridge a Latin Sermon upon this (p) subject. I read it, when it came out. But I know not now where to find it. I remember well, that it is a very learned and elaborate discourse. And I made some extracts, which are still by me. But they are defective and imperfect. However, I perceive by them, that the (q) author, Dr. Drake, asserted the inscription to have been in the singular number: though my extracts are not particular enough, to shew how he made it out. But I know, that he argued from the place of Oecumenius, above quoted by me, and likewise from the dialogue Philopatris, which I also shall quote by and by.

Having seen the judgement of learned Christians, ancient and modern, I here intend to propose my own observations.

Diogenes Laërtius informs us, that the Athenians, by the direction of an oracle sent for Epimenides to purify, or expiate their city, when they were afflicted with a pestilence: Epimenides, when he came to Athens, took several sheep, some black, some white, and then let them go, where they would, directing those who followed them, when any one should lye down, to sacrifice it to the God, to whom it belonged. Which in the Latin version, is (r) rendered,

to

(o) Quamvis plureli numero legeretur inscriptio, Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, recte de Deo Ignoto loquutus est Paulus, quia plurali numero continetur singularis. Cleric. H. E. A. 52. p. 374. in notis.

(p) Ara Ignoto Deo sacra: ad Clerum habita Cantabrigiae vii. Idus Julii 1724. pro gradu Doctoratus in sacra Theologia. Auctore Samuele Drake. S. T. P. Collegii Divi Johannis Evangelistae Socio. . . . Cantab. 1724.

(q) Fatendum tamen est, plures fuisse

olim Deos, quorum opem auxiliumque anonymis aris invocabant . . . Hanc autem, de quâ speciatim egit Apostolus inscriptionem singulari fuisse numero prolata confirmat ipsius Pauli fides, industria, non sequioris aetatis testimonio, non Hieronymi conjecturae posthabenda. Drake ubi supra. p. 5. In Excerptis nostris.

(r) His qui illas sequebantur, ubicunque illae accubissent, singulas mactarent loci ejus proximo Deo.

to the God next the place. Which translation, as I perceive by my extracts, is disliked by Dr. Drake. He therefore translates in this manner: *to (s) the proper God, to whom that affair belonged, to him, whoever he was, who should remove the inflicted pestilence.* Dr. Doddridge reciting this paragraph in his notes upon Acts ch. xvii. understands the direction to be, *when the sheep lay down to sacrifice them to the God, near whose temple or altar they then were.*

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There is another sense, which appears to me to be very obvious, and therefore I think to be right. Epimenides took with him up to the Areopagus, several sheep, *some black, some white.* And when he let them go, he directed, that each one, when it lay down, *should be sacrificed to the God, to which it appertained, or belonged,* ut eam mactarent Deo, ad quem pertineret. Black sacrifices were offered to some Gods, white to others. Epimenides knew not, by what God the pestilence had been inflicted upon the Athenians. When he was desired to purify the city, in order to it's deliverance, he chose out sacrifices of different kinds, black sheep, and white sheep, and led them up to the Areopagus. And from that place, the citadel, or the seat of the senate, and of the Court of Judicature, he sent out the sheep, as in the name of the whole city and commonwealth, to be sacrificed, in order to appease the offended Deity, whoever he was. A sheep with a black fleece, when it lay down, was to be offered to a deity, who delighted in such sacrifices. A sheep

(s) Hujus [Epimenidis] consilio monitos tradit, Athenienses, cum patrios deos frustra fatigârint, sacra ut facerent, aram que construerent τῷ προσήκοντι Θεῷ: non, ut male Laertii interpretes . . . loci ejus proximo Deo: verum Deo convenienti, Deo, ad quem res ista pertinebat: ei, quisquis tandem is fuerit, qui immissam luem propulsaret. Drake, ubi supra, p. 6.

Which seems to me to be much the same with that of Grotius. . . . Sicut Laërtius, originem hujus rei narrans, dicit ab Epimenide monitos Athenienses, ut sacra facerent τῷ προσήκοντι Θεῷ, id est, ei Deo, ad quem res esse pertineret, non addito nomine. Grotius.

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sheep with a white fleece was to be offered to a deity, to whom white sacrifices were acceptable. By this means he hoped to ingratiate the offended deity, whoever he was.

It follows in Laërtius. *And so the plague ceased. Hence it has come to pass, that to this present time, may be found in the boroughs of the Athenians, anonymous altars, a memorial of the expiation then made.*

In the boroughs of the Athenians. So I have translated, κατὰ τὰς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Of them Potter speaks in this manner. "These (t) Δήμοι were little boroughs in Attica, several of which were reckoned together in the business of the Common wealth: yet had separate habitations, and distinct rites, and Gods too: for each of them adored peculiar deities. And yet all unanimously agreed in worshiping Minerva, who was the tutelar Goddesse of the whole countrey."

Thus I have explained this paragraph, as I am able. I am now to make some observations. But they will be no more than two only. *First*, there were several anonymous altars at Athens, and in the adjoining countrey. We know not how many sheep Epimenides took up with him to the Areopagus, and then let them go away at pleasure. But they would all lye down when wearie, if not before: some, it is likely, in the streets, or other public places of the city of Athens: others in the adjacent countrey. Where they were sacrificed to the God, to whom they were supposed to appertain, according to their different colours. And the city being hereby expiated, and purified, and delivered from the pestilence, there was an anonymous altar erected in every place, where a sacrifice had been made, in memorial of the obtained deliverance. *Secondly*, all these altars were in the singular number. For each *sheep*, when it lay down, was to be sacrificed to the God, to whom it appertained.

Thus

(t) Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*. B. i. ch. ix. p. 50. vol. i. Oxford. 1699.

Thus then, according to this curious historie in Laërtius, St. Paul must have been in the right, when he said, *he had found an altar with this inscription: To the Unknown God.* And even to the time of Laërtius there were still such anonymous altars to be found in the boroughs of the Athenians.

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Let us now observe some other Heathen writers. Where, possibly, we may find some things, confirming these observations, or however at least casting farther light upon them. I shall first quote *Pausanias*, who flourished and wrote before the end of the second centurie. Having mentioned an altar of Jupiter Olympius, he says, “and (u) nigh unto it, is an altar of unknown gods.” He does not say, *the altar*, but *an altar*. Therefore there may have been several such altars, as Laërtius says. And when he says, *an altar of unknown Gods*, he need not to be understood to mean, that the inscription was in the plural number. It may have been, and probably was, in the singular number.

In another place Pausanias speaks of (x) *altars of Gods called unknown, and of Heroes, and of the sons of Theseus, and Phalerus.* The inscription of this altar likewise may have been in the singular number. But as there were several altars at Athens, or near it, inscribed *to the unknown God*, it was natural enough for some writers to call them *altars of unknown gods*. So says Grotius: “When (y) Pausanias says, “that there were at Athens altars of unknown Gods, he means, “that there were many altars with such an inscription, *to the Unknown God*: though, possibly, there were some with an inscripti-

E 2

“on

(u) Καλεῖται δὲ Ολυμπίου Διός. Πρὸς αὐτῷ δ' ἐστὶν ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός. *Pausan. l. 5. p. 412.*

(x) Βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων, καὶ ἡρώων, καὶ παίδων τῶν Θησέως, καὶ Φαληρέων. *Paus. l. 1. p. 4.*

(y) Cum Pausanias ait, aras Athenis fuisse θεῶν ἀγνώστων, hoc vult, multas fuisse aras tali inscriptione Θεῶν ἀγνώστων: quamquam potuere aliae esse pluraliter inscriptae, aliae singulariter. *Grot. ad Act. xviii.*

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“on in the plural number, whilst others were in the singular.” Olearius (z) has expressed himself in the like manner.

The first observation appears to me very right. The second observation, “that there might be also some altars in the plural number, to *unknown Gods*,” is a supposition, without proof, or evidence, so far as I see, and therefore may not be true.

Philostratus records it, as an observation of Apollonius Tyanaeus, “that (a) we are never to speak disrespectfully of any of the Gods: “intimating also at the same time, that there was some special reason to be upon the guard in that respect, at Athens, where are “altars to unknown demons.”

But neither does this necessarily imply, that there were altars with inscriptions to *unknown Gods* in the plural number. It implies no more, than that there were several altars with that inscription to *the Unknown God*. And farther. We are hereby led to think, that inscriptions, to *the Unknown God*, were peculiar to the Athenians. There were no such inscriptions any where else.

I come now at length to the Dialogue *Philopatris*, quoted by Dr. Drake, and others, as a work of Lucian: but I rather think, of some anonymous Heathen Author in the fourth centurie.

Here Critias confirms what he says, swearing (b) by *the Unknown God at Athens*. And near the end of the Dialogue: “But (c) let “us find out the Unknown God at Athens, and stretching our hands “to

(z) Ceteri auctores omnes, qui altarium meminerunt τῶν ἀγνώστων, plurali numero illos deos efferunt. Puto tamen Pausaniae et Philostrati loca viris doctis observata, in quibus βωμῶν Θεῶν ἀγνώστων mentio, ita accipi posse, ut arae exstitisse multae intelligantur, quorum singulis, aut saltem quibusdam ex iis inscriptio fuerit, Θεῷ ἀγνώστω. Olearius apud Wolf. in *AEI. Ap. xvii. 23.*

(a) ... σωφρονέστερον γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων

θεῶν ἐν λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα Αθηναῖσιν, ὅ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἰδρονται. *Philost. Apoll. Tyan. l. 6. cap. iii. p. 232. Conf. Suid. V. Τιμασίων.*

(b) Νη τὸν ἀγνώστον ἐν Αθήναις. *Lucian Philop. p. 767. Tom. 2. Graev.*

(c) Ἡμεῖς δὲ, τὸν ἐν Αθήναις ἀγνώστον ἐφευρόντες, καὶ προσκυνήσαντες, χεῖρας εἰς ἑρανὸν ἐκτείναντες, τέτρω ἐυχαισθήσομεν. κ. λ. *Ibid. p. 780.*

“ to heaven, offer to him our praises, and thanksgivings, that we are
 “ worthie to live under so great an empire, and leave others to trifle
 “ as they please.”

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Which must lead us to think, that the inscription at Athens was in the singular number. There can be no reason assigned, why this author, doing his utmost to expose and ridicule the Christians, should adapt the singular number, if the inscription was plural.

Thus I have now illustrated this text by the testimonies of Heathen authors, who wrote, whilst these altars, with their inscriptions, were in being: *Diogenes Laërtius*, *Pausanias*, *Philostrophatus*, and the Author of *Philopatris*. The inscription upon the altar at Athens was in the singular number. Nor does it appear, that there were any in the plural, to *Unknown Gods*. And this inscription seems to have been peculiar to the Athenians. It does not appear, that there were any altars inscribed to *the Unknown God*, in any other countreys. But, when I say, these altars were peculiar to the Athenians, I do not intend the city of Athens alone. For there were several like altars in the boroughs of the Athenians, and possibly in some other adjoining places. The altar, observed by Paul, probably, was in some street, or open place of the city of Athens. The Altars, mentioned by Pausanias, were elsewhere. That which I first quoted from him was at *Olympia*: the other was at *Phalerus*, as (d) he expressly says, which was the nearest sea-port to Athens, and not far off from the city.

I shall now recite the observations of the late Mr. *Hallett* of Exeter. Having argued the great ignorance of the Heathen people concerning the Deity, and having alleged several texts from the New Testament to the same purpose, he goes on: “ The (e) same St. Paul,
 “ when

(d) Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαληρῶν, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον
 ἐχρητὰι μοι. . . . *Paus.* p. 4.

(e) *Mr. Hallett's Notes and Discourses upon texts of Scripture. Vol. i. p. 307. . . . 309.*

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“ when he was at Athens, where, if any where, the Heathens should
 “ have known better, took notice, that the people had no know-
 “ ledge of the true God. He found there an altar erected *to the Un-*
 “ *known God.* Acts xvii. 23. that is, they did not know by what
 “ name to call him. This is manifest from the occasion of erecting
 “ the altar, which was this. About 600 years before our Saviour’s
 “ birth, there was a pestilence at Athens. In order to get it remov-
 “ ed, upon the advice of the Philosopher *Epimenides*, (who appears
 “ by this to have been as ignorant of the true God, as the Athenian
 “ populace) the people sacrificed many sheep, not to any particular
 “ idol, but to that God, be he who he would, who was able to
 “ remove the pestilence from them. Upon which, it is said, the
 “ plague was stayed. In memory of this deliverance the Athenians
 “ erected several altars, which the historian Diogenes Laërtius *calls*
 “ *Anonymus*, because there was no name of any particular God in-
 “ scribed upon them. The altars were erected, not to the honour
 “ of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, by name, but to that particular God,
 “ whoever he was, who had wrought out this deliverance for them.
 “ See Laërtius in his Life of *Epimenides*. If they had known, that
 “ *Jupiter* had removed the plague, they would have inscribed their
 “ altars to *Jupiter*. If they had known, that *Apollo* had removed
 “ the plague, they would have inscribed the altars to *Apollo*. But
 “ while they could not tell, which of all their Gods it was, who
 “ had removed the plague, they did not dedicate the altars to any
 “ one God by name, but to that God, whoever he was, who had
 “ thus delivered them. But still they thought, this God, whoever
 “ he was, was one of the idols of the Heathen world. They did
 “ not suspect him to be a being of any greater wisdom and power,
 “ than their own *Jupiter* and *Apollo*. They took their deliverer to be
 “ an idol of the same sort and size, as the rest whom they worshiped.
 “ But the truth was, (though they did not know it,) that he, who
 “ delivered them by his providence from that distress, was the one
 “ infinite, supreme God. And therefore St. Paul justly says, that
 “ the

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“ the Athenians worshiped him. For they worshiped him, who
 “ removed the plague, whoever he was. But the true God remov-
 “ ed the plague. Therefore they worshiped the true God. But
 “ still, as the Apostle observes, they worshiped him *ignorantly*, that
 “ is, they were ignorant of his true greatness, majesty, and power,
 “ and looked upon him as no greater, than one of their own idols.
 “ Which worshiping of him in this *ignorant* manner, and under this
 “ debasing notion, was not much, if any thing, better than their
 “ not worshiping him at all. Accordingly St. Paul, in this same dis-
 “ course, chargeth them, as men, who yet wanted to *seek and find out*
 “ the true God, ver. 27. as thinking, that the *Godhead was like to gold*
 “ *and silver images*. Ver. 29. and as men *living in times of igno-*
 “ *rance*. Ver. 30. To which we may add what the same Apostle
 “ says, 1 Cor. i. 21. that *the world, by means of wisdom*, that is, of
 “ the philosophic of the Heathens, which was accounted wisdom,
 “ *knew not God*. Agreeably to this we may take notice throughout
 “ the Old Testament, that the Heathen nations, who heard of Je-
 “ hovah, did not look upon him as any other than the idol of Ju-
 “ dea, a being of the same kind with *Baal, Chemosh*, and the like.”
 So writes my much esteemed friend the late Mr. Joseph Hal-
 lett.

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III. In the Life of Pythagoras, among his precepts, Diogenes La-
 ertius mentions this : “ That (f) a loaf should not be broke, because
 “ it was anciently the custom for friends, to meet together at one loaf,
 “ as the Barbarians do now. And therefore that should not be di-
 “ vided, which brings them together.”

*Whether
 he refers
 to the
 Christian
 Eucharist.*

Gregorius Giraldus supposed, that (g) by *Barbarians* Laertius
 here

(f) Ἄρτον μὴ καταγνύειν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἓνα
 οἱ πάλαι τῶν φίλων ἐφύοντο, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν
 βάρβαροι μηδὲ διαρεῖν ὅς συνάγει αὐτούς. *Di-*
og. La. l. 8. §. 35. p. 518.

(g) Gregorius Giraldus, vir doctissi-
 mus, in libello de Pythagorae symbolis,
 quid de hoc symbolo scribat, omnibus in
 promptu est. Quod autem barbaros La-
 ertius

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here meant Christians, and that he refers to their assemblies, where they met together to partake of the eucharist. But other learned men with more reason, as seems to me, believe, that he here intends such as were properly called *barbarians*, and that there is here no reference at all to the Christians.

For certain, I lay not any stress upon this passage. I only put it down here, that it might not be suspected to be omitted merely through oversight, and that all may judge of it.

ertius Christianos hoc loco significet, id mihi nullo modo probatur. Neque enim solent a scriptoribus quantumvis Ethnicis hoc nomine appellari. Sed barbaros intelligo vere barbaros, apud quos certum

est, eum morem viguisse, coëundi in conviviiis, qui idem omnium fere gentium mos est. *Aldobrand. in loc. Et Conf. Menag. p. 370. Vid. et Jamblich. de Vita Pythagorae. num. 86. cap. 18.*



CHAP.

C H A P. XXV.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

I. *His Time.* II. *Divers Passages concerning the Christians, from his Life, writ by Lampridius, an Hea-then Author, about the year of Christ 306.* III. *Of Mammaea, the Emperour's mother, by some said to have been a Christian.*

I. **S**EPTIMIUS Severus was succeeded by his son *Caracalla* : He by *Macrinus* : he by *Heliogabulus*, concerning whom I shall transcribe a passage from (a) *Lampridius*, when I come to the Chapter of the Augustan writers. *Heliogabalus* was succeeded by ALEXANDER SEVERUS, whose (b) reign is computed from March 6. 222. to March 14. or 19. in the year 235. He reigned thirteen years, and died before he was seven and twenty years of age. Alexander

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His Time.

(a) *Lamprid. Heliogab. cap. iii. p. 796.* *andre. art. xxv. and Crevier's Hist. of the*
(b) *Vide Pagi ann. 235. num. ii. Bafn.* *Roman Emperours. Vol. 8. p. 277.*
ann. 222. num. iii. Tillem. L'Emp. Alex-

A D. 222. Alexander is much commended, as an excellent prince, by (c) Lampridius, as well, as by (d) others.

II. His Life of Alexander is addressed to *Constantin*. He has in it several passages relating to the Christians, which must be taken notice of.

1. Of this Emperour Lampridius says: "He (e) maintained the privileges of the Jews: He tolerated the Christians."

2. Of the same Emperour he says: "His (f) way of living was " this. Early in the morning, if there was no impediment, he performed some acts of religious worship in his own private chapple, " in which were the deified Emperours, and also some eminently " good men, and among them *Apollonius*: and, as a writer of his " time says, *Christ*, *Abraham*, and *Orpheus*, (whom he considered " as deities,) and the images of his ancestors."

3. In a following chapter Lampridius says: "this (g) Emperour " called *Virgil* the Plato of poets, and placed his image with that of " *Cicero*, in his second chapple, where also were the statues of *A-*
" *chilles*,

(c) Atque haec parva sunt, nisi quod dignum re exhibuit, quem Senatus servaret, quem saluum milites cuperent, quem omnium bonorum sententia principem diceret. *All. Lamprid. Sever. Alex. cap. 2. p. 883.*

(d) Judaeis privilegia reservavit: Christianos esse passus est. *Ib. cap. 22. p. 914.*

(e) Fuit ita moratus Alexander, ita vitâ atque animo constitutus, ut inter Ethnicos, paucos aequales habuerit, superiorem forte neminem. *Basnag. ann. 222. num. v.*

(f) Usus vivendi eidem hic fuit: primum, ut, si facultas esset, id est, si non

cum uxore cubuisset, matutinis horis in larario suo, in quo et divos principes, sed optimos, electos, et animas sanctiores, in quibus et Apollonium, et quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham, et Orpheum, (et hujusmodi deos habebat,) ac majorum effigies, rem divinam faciebat. *Ib. cap. 29. p. 930.*

(g) Virgilium autem Platonem poetarum vocabat, ejusque imaginem cum Ciceronis simulachro, in secundo larario habuit, ubi et Achillis, et magnorum virorum. Alexandrum vero Magnum inter divos et optimos, in larario majore consecravit. *Ib. cap. 31. p. 936.*

"*chilles*, and other great men. But *Alexander* the Great he placed
"among the deified, and the best, in his more honorable chapple."

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Whereby it appears, that this Emperour had two chapples, one greater, and more honorable, the other less honorable. *Christ* was in the former. We are likewise to observe, that this was mentioned by a writer of this Emperour's own time. Who, probably, was a Gentil, or Heathen, our author himself being a Heathen, and making his collections from such.

4. Of the same Emperour, Lampridius likewise says: "He (*b*)
"had a mind to build a temple to *Christ*, and to receive him into
"the number of the deities. Which *Adrian* also is supposed to have
"thought of before: who ordered temples without images to be e-
"rected in all cities. Which temples, at this very time, because
"they have no deities in them, are called *Adrian's*. And he is said
"to have prepared them for that purpose. But he was forbid by
"those who consulted the Oracles, they having found, that if that
"was done, all men would become Christians, and the other tem-
"ples would be forsaken."

What Lampridius here says of the temples built by *Adrian*, without statues, was considered formerly, in another place, (*i*) to which the reader is referred. We did not then think it reasonable to believe, that *Adrian* intended to have those temples consecrated to *Christ*. Consequently, it may be questioned, whether we ought to relye upon what Lampridius here says of *Alexander's* designing to build a temple to *Christ*.

F 2

5. Farther,

(*b*) Christo templum facere voluit, eum-
que inter deos recipere. Quod et Adria-
nus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omni-
bus civitatibus sine simulachris jussit fie-
ri; quae hodie idcirco, quia non habent
numina, dicuntur Adriani. Quae ille ad
hoc parasse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est

ab iis, qui consulentes sacra, repperunt,
omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato
evenisset, et templa reliqua deferenda.
Ib. cap. 43. p. 993.

(*i*) See before ch. xi. Vol. 2. p. 117. . . .
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5. Farther, he says of this Emperour: "When (*k*) he was about to appoint any to the governments of provinces, or to other like offices, he published their names, inviting the people, if they had any crimes to lay to their charge, to produce their evidences: at the same time declaring, that if any charged what he could not prove, he should be put to death. And he said. It was a miserable thing, that when the Christians and Jews observed this method, of publishing the names of their Priests, before they were ordained: the like care should not be taken about the Governments of provinces, with whom the lives and fortunes of men were entrusted."

That is a testimonie to a custom in use among Christians, and to the concern they had for the good character of those, who were to be ordained to any offices in the Church. It is also an argument, that Christians, and their affairs, were then well known in the world.

6. Afterwards, in the same Life, Lampridius says: "When (*l*) the Christians had seised a spot of ground, which was public: and on the other hand, the victuallers said, it ought to be granted to them; he gave this rescript, That it was better, that God should be worshiped there in any manner, than that the ground should be granted to the victuallers."

It cannot be determined, whether the Christians intended to raise a church upon that spot of ground, or only to make use of it for a cemetarie, or burying place.

This

(*k*) Et quia de publicandis dispositionibus mentio contigit, ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel praepositos facere, vel procuratores, id est, rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus, si non probasset, subiret poenam capitis. Dicebatque, grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judaei facerent in praedi-

candis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunae hominum committerentur et capita. *Ib. cap. 45. p. 997.*

(*l*) Quum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupassent, contra popinarii dicerent, sibi eum deberi; rescripsit, melius esse, ut quomodocunque illic Deus colatur, quam popinariis dedatur. *Ibid. cap. 49. p. 1003.*

This Emperour ought to be commended for his moderation, and for the justnesse of his sentiments. He judged a place, in which God was to be worshiped, though not in his own way, to be better employed, than when put to the uses of luxurie. And we can hence conclude with certainty, that it was then well known, and generally believed, that promiscuous lewdnesse was no part of Christian worship, or at all practised in their assemblies.

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Here *Crevier* (m) writes to this purpose: "I observed before, that he favoured the Christians, and honoured *Jesus Christ* in his domestic chappel. It is added, that he intended to build a public temple to him. But this is far from being proved. On the contrary, it seems, as if, how much soever he might esteem the moral precepts of Christianity, he by no means approved of it's religious worship. And this he shewed even upon an occasion, in which he protected it. The Christians being molested by the vintners of Rome, on account of a building, where they used to assemble, the Emperour determined the dispute in favour of the former, by saying, that the building in question had better be used for the worship of the Divinity in any manner whatever, than to be made a tavern. Thus *Alexander*, loving virtue, esteemed it in the Christians. But he must not be said, to have favoured them any farther."

"If the building, I have been speaking of, was a church belonging to the Christians, which may be naturally enough supposed; this is the oldest testimony we have of any edifice publicly consecrated to the worship of our holy religion, known to be such by the Pagans."

So *Crevier*. But I think it may be questioned, whether these observations are exactly suited to this passage of *Lampridius*.

7. Once

(m) *History of the Rom. Emperours. vol. 8. p. 345.*

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7. Once more. The same writer says of the same Emperour :
 “ If (n) any went out of the road into the grounds of any private
 “ person, according to the nature of the ground, he was to be
 “ beaten with sticks, in his presence, or whipped with rods, or fined.
 “ And if the quality of the offender exempted him from such pu-
 “ nishments, he would severely reprove him, saying : *Are you wil-*
 “ *ling to have that done in your own field, which you do in another's?*
 “ And he would often use a saying, which he had heard from some
 “ Jews, or Christians, and which he well remembered : And when
 “ any one was corrected, he ordered the Cryer to proclaim : *What*
 “ *you would not have done to Yourself, that do not you do to another.*
 “ Which saying he so highly esteemed, that he ordered it to be en-
 “ graved upon his palace, and upon public buildings.”

These and other things, mentioned by Lampridius, are very ho-
 norable to this Emperour.

III. His mother *Mammaea* also is greatly commended by some
 Christian writers. *Eusebius* (o) calls her a pious and religious woman.
 And *Orosius* says, she (p) was a Christian. The main foundation of
 this supposition, is, that as *Eusebius* informs us, she sent for *Origen*
 to come to her at *Antioch*. Which might be no more than curiosi-
 ty to see and discourse with a man, who was then in great reputation
 for

(n) Si quis de viâ in alicujus possessio-
 nem deflexisset, pro qualitate loci, aut fust-
 tibz subjiebatur in conspectu ejus, aut
 virgis, aut condemnationi. Aut si hæc
 omnia transiret dignitas hominis, aut gra-
 vissimis contumeliis, quum diceret : Vis-
 ne hoc in agro tuo fieri, quod alteri fa-
 cis? Clamabatque sæpius quod a quibus-
 dam sive Judæis sive Christianis, audie-
 rat, et tenebat. Idque per praeconem,

quum aliquem emendaret, dici jubebat.
Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.
 Quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit, ut in
 palatio, et in publicis operibus, præscri-
 bi juberet. *Id. ib. cap. 51. p. 1006.*

(o) *H. E. l. 6. cap. xxi.*

(p) Cujus mater *Mammaea*, Christiana,
Origenem presbyterum audire curavit.
Oros. l. 7. cap. 18.

Ch. XXV. *Passages concerning the Christians.*

39

for learning. *Crevier* (q) therefore justly observes : " She is said to have been a Christian : but that fact is not sufficiently proved." And *Basnage* (r) has offered divers arguments, sufficient to overthrow that supposition.

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222.

(q) *Hist. of the Rom. Emperours. vol. 8. p. 277.*

(r) *Ann. 222. num. iv.*



P. A. H. P. I. Omitting Ulpian, (s) or ULPIAN, was a native of Tyre in Phœnicia. After he had distinguished himself as a great Lawyer, in former reigns, he was made Prefect of the Prætorian Guard, under Alexander : but was murdered by the Prætorian soldi-
ers, as is computed, in the year 228. I place him at the year 222, when the Emperor Alexander began his reign.

C H A P. XXVI.

U L P I A N.

- I. *His Time.* II. *A passage of Lactantius concerning his work of the Duty of a Proconsul, in which he says, that Ulpian had collected all the edicts of former Emperours against the Christians.* III. *Observations of learned men concerning Ulpian, and his Work.* IV. *Qu. Whether there remain, in the Pandects, any Laws against the Christians?*

A. D. 222. I. **D**omitius Ulpianus, (a) or ULPIAN, was a native of Tyre in Phenicia. After he had distinguished himself, as a great Lawyer, in former reigns, he was made Prefect of the Praetorium by Severus Alexander: but was murdered by the Praetorian soldiers, as is computed, in the year 228. I place him at the year 222. when the Emperour Alexander began his reign.

II. " Lac-

(a) Vid. Dion. Cass. lib. 80. Eutrop. l. 8. c. 23. Zos. l. i. p. 638. Spartian de Pescennio Nigro. cap. 7. Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo. cap. 26. 31. 51. Victor. de Caesarib. cap. 24. Tillem. L'Emp. Alexandre. art. xvii. Crevier in his Lives of the Roman Emperours. Vol. 8. p. 112. &c. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Tom. i. p. 820.

II. "Lactantius (*b*) among other cruelties practised by worshipers of idols, or Heathen deities, reckons *laws of Princes, and decrees of Lawyers*, against good men, worshipers of the true God." "Domitius writing of the office of a Proconsul, in the seventh book of that work, put together the wicked edicts, that he might shew, what punishments ought to be inflicted upon those, who professed themselves to be worshipers of God."

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Of his Work, the Duty of a Proconsul, from Lactantius.

III. Herman Witfius supposeth, "that (*c*) Ulpian was very averse to the Christians. But the Emperour was favorable to them. He saw, that Alexander would never enact any laws against them, which should bring them into any danger of their lives. Ulpian therefore put together the laws, which had been made against the Christians in former times, that the Proconsuls might see how they might treat them."

Observations upon his Work.

Tillemont (*d*) thinks, that work was published before the reign of Alexander. Basnage likewise is of opinion, that (*e*) this work was com-

(*b*) Hoc est Deorum disciplina. Ad haec opera cultores suos erudiunt. Haec sacra desiderant. Quinetiam sceleratissimi homicidae contra pios jura impia considerunt. Nam et constitutiones sacrilegae, et disputationes Jurisperitorum leguntur injustae. Domitius de Officio Proconsulis, libro septimo, rescripta nefaria collegit, ut doceret, quibus poenis affici oporteret eos qui se cultores Dei profiterentur. *Lactant. Inst. l. 5. cap. xi. fin.*

(*c*) Cujus collectionis hanc credibile est fuisse occasionem. Ulpianus Alexandrum Severum regebat, et ejus nomine Proconsulibus provincias ituris mandata dabat.

Sed quum videret abs Christianis non alienum, ab eorum sanguine certe abhorrentem, vix impelli posse, uti iis exterminandis aliquid ediceret: videtur vetera impiorum tyrannorum rescripta Proconsulibus objecisse, ut ex iis suum in hoc genere officium aestimarent. *Witf. se Legion. Fulmin. num. lxv.*

(*d*) Ubi supra, note (*a*).

(*e*) Quae collectanea edidisse existimamus, imperante Severo, cum Papiniano in consiliis fuit Regnante quidem Alexandro, nil pernicioei Christianis machinatus est Ulpianus, quos Mammaeae, et filio ejus acceptos esse noverat. Ad dominorum ergo suorum studia sese composuit au-

licus

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222.

composed some good while before, in the time of Septimius Severus. Nor can he believe, that Ulpian would publish such a thing in the time of Alexander, when it would be far from being acceptable.

Crevier (*f*) expresseth himself after this manner. "Ulpian has been praised by all the Pagans without exception, and without reserve. The Christians have reproached him with carrying his aversion so far, as contrarie to the inclination of his sovereign, who did not dislike them, to collect all the edicts, which former Emperours had published against them. Let us pity a blindness, in which he was confirmed even by his regard for the laws, which he had so much studied."

So Crevier. But a part of those remarks depend upon a supposition, that these books of the Duty of a Proconsul were published in the time of Alexander: which, as we have just seen, is far from being certain.

As for Ulpian's having been *praised by all the Pagans*, (which Crevier repeats after Tillemont,) it is acknowledged, that he has been commended by several Heathen authors, and the confidence placed in him by Alexander, is much to his honour. Nevertheless by (*g*) Dion Cassius, or by Xiphilin from him, he is said to have killed *Flavian and Chrestus*, that he might succeed them. And Zosimus giving an account of Ulpian's death, says, "The (*h*) soldiers were much offended with him. The reason he could not say exactly, because the accounts were different."

IV. There

licus homo. Nec Alexandri Mammaeque gratiam retinisset, si Ecclesiam, cui favebant, ad sanguinem usque persecutus fuisset. *Basnag. ann. 228. num. iii.*

(*f*) *As before, p. 46.*

(*g*) Τὸν δὲ δὴ Φλαβιανὸν, τὸν τε Χρησὸν ἀποκτείνας, ἵνα αὐτοῖς διαδέξηται, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ

πολλὰ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφύρων, ἐπιθεμένων οὐκ ἔκτιστος, κατεφάγη. *Dio. Cass. l. 80. p. 1369.*

(*h*) Ἐν ὑποψίᾳ δὲ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις γενόμενος, (τὰς δὲ αἰτίας ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἔχω διεξελθεῖν· διάφορα γὰρ ἰσότηκας περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως) ἀναιρεῖται. *Zos. l. 1. p. 638.*

A. D.
222.*Whether
there are
in the
Pandects
any Laws
against the
Christians*

IV. There are in the Pandects several fragments of his, which by some learned men are understood to relate to the Christians. I shall here allege one or two.

1. In a treatise of his concerning Courts of Justice were these words. "They (*i*) may be reckoned Physicians, who undertake
" the cure of the body, or of any particular distemper, in the ears,
" the throat, the teeth : but not, if they use incantations, or invoca-
" tions, or to use the common word of impostors, exorcisms. These
" are no sort of medicine, although there are people, who boast of
" having received benefit by them."

Whether Ulpian here refers to Jews, or Christians, or Heathens, I cannot certainly say. Bingham (*k*) says: "Some think the order
" (*of Exorcists,*) was as old, as Tertullian, because Ulpian, the great
" Lawyer, who lived in Tertullian's time, in one of his books speaks
" of exorcising, as a thing used by impostors, by whom, probably,
" he means the Christians. Gothofred thinks, he means the Jew-
" ish Exorcists, who were commonly impostors indeed."

2. From the third book of his work, Concerning the Duty of a Proconsul, are cited these words: "The (*l*) deified Severus and An-
" toninus, have permitted those who follow the Jewish superstition to
" enjoy magistracies. But they imposed upon them some conditions,
" which did not prejudice their superstition."

G 2

When

(*i*) Medicos fortassis quis accipiet etiam eos, qui alicujus partis corporis, vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur : ut puta si auricularius, si fistulae, vel dentium : non tamen, si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si (ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar,) exorcizant. Non sunt ista medicinae genera, tametsi sint, qui hos sibi profuisse cum praedicatione adfirment. *D. lib. l. Tit. 13. l. 1. §. 3. De extraordinariis Cognitionibus. &c.*

(*k*) Bingham's *Antiquities. &c. B. 3. ch. iv. §. 3.*

(*l*) Ejus, qui Judaicam superstitionem sequantur, D. Severus et Antoninus honores adipisci permiserunt : sed et necessitates eis imposuerunt, quae superstitionem eorum non laederent. *De Decurionibus. &c. D. L. l. Tit. 2. l. 3. §. 3.*

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222.

When Ulpian wrote that book of his Work, as Schulting (*m*) says, Antoninus Caracalla was living. Therefore *the Blessed*, or *deified*, is to be understood of Septimius Severus only, and not to be applied to both the Emperours here mentioned.

Whether by *the Jewish superstition* be here meant the Jewish Religion only, or whether the Christians also were intended, has been doubted.

3. However, it may not be improper for me, before I conclude this chapter concerning Ulpian, to observe, that some learned Lawyers are of opinion, "that (*n*) in our *Corpus Juris*, or Collection of ancient Roman Laws, there is not preserved one edict against the Christians, nor any thing, that is against them."

And says Witsius (*o*) in the place, to which we referred just now :
"The books of Ulpian concerning the Duty of a Proconsul are not
"now extant. But there are in the Pandects many fragments of
"them : in which however there is not one word about the Chri-
"stians. From the third book of that work is cited a law of Seve-
"rus and Antoninus, allowing the Jews to possess magistracies. But
"it is not at all probable, that Christians are here included. The
"design

(*m*) Adeoque legendum *Divus Severus*, et *Antoninus*, non *Divi*, ut habet Florentinus. Schulting. *Jurispr. Vet.* p. 552.

(*n*) Istud addo, in corpore juris nostro nullum contra Christianos edictum, immo nihil, quod illis adversum existimari certo possit, inveniri. In qua sententia etsi Balduinus non fuit, sed Ulpianum cum primis accusat, quod Christianos l. 1. §. 3. ff. *De extraordin. cognit.* Exorcistas appellavit: sunt tamen viri docti, qui plane alterius commatis homines eo nomine comprehendi existimant. N. H. Gundling. *Praef. ad Balduin. Comm. de Constant. Imp. Leg. Ecc. et Civilibus* p. 16. 17.

(*o*) Non exstant quidem hi *de Officio Pro-*

consulis libri Domitii. Multa tamen in Pandectis supersunt eorum fragmenta: sed in his nullum verbum de Christianis. Unus locus exstat ex libro tertio, ubi laudatur hoc de quo disputamus *Severi et Antonini* rescriptum, quo Judaeis permittitur honores adipisci. Haec cum retulisset Balduinus, ita inquit: *An Ulpianus, quo magis Christianos ureret, hoc commemoravit? Ut Julianus Imperator odio Christianorum favisse Judaeis dicitur.* Quum ergo totus in eo fuerit Ulpianus, ut ea quae adversa Christianis erant, ad eos vexandos colligeret, faventia vero maligne supprimeret, non est probabile, hoc quod de Judaeis prodere voluit, ad Christianos pertinere. Wits. ut supra, num. lxii.

“design of Ulpian was to collect the laws against the Christians.
“The same malignity of temper would induce him to suppress every
“thing that was favorable to them.”

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222.

That being our case, we must submit to it. Through a mistaken friendship, and misguided zeal, all edicts against the Christians have been suppressed, and none of them admitted into the Pandects.

Since therefore the collections of Ulpian, so far as they related to the Christians, are entirely lost, we can only make some general reflexions upon them. Which every reader is able to do. I have cited the passage of Lactantius, and have also alleged the observations of divers learned moderns, relating to this subject, and need not add any thing more. I shall only say, that if ever *the seventh book* of that work of Ulpian should be found; it would be a great curiosity, and would afford us a great deal of light and instruction.

Dr. Jortin in his Discourses concerning the Christian Religion, at p. 58. says. “If Ulpian’s treatise on the Duty of Proconsuls were extant, we should know, what edicts had been published against
“the Christians by the Emperours, down to the time of Alexander Severus.”

CHAP.

C H A P. XXVII.

D I O N C A S S I U S.

- I. *His Work and Time.* II. *His Account of the Siege, and taking of Jerusalem by Titus.* III. *His Account of Domitian's Persecution of the Christians.* IV. *Nerva's favorable treatment of the Christians.* V. *That Marcia, concubine of Commodus, was friendly to the Christians.* VI. *His Account of the shower, by which Mark Antonin, and his Armie were saved in Germanie.*

A. D. 230. *His Time, and Work.* I. **D**ION CASSIUS COCCEIANUS (a) son of *Apronianus*, who in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian was Governor of Cilicia, and afterwards of Dalmatia, was a native of Nice in Bithynia. He was made a Senator of Rome in the reign of Commodus,

(a) *Suid.* V. Δίων, ὁ Κόσσιος χρηματίας, ὁ ἐπίκλην Κοκκίος· οἱ δὲ Κοκκινίανος. *Phot. cod.* 71. p. 105. *Voss. Hist. Gr.* l. 2. cap. 15. *Fabr. Bib. Gr.* l. 4. cap. x. *Tom.* 3. p. 319. &c. *Reimarus de Vita et Scriptis* *Dionis. ap. Dion.* T. 2. p. 1533. &c. *Cav. H. L. Tom.* 2. p. 146. *Tillem. Hist. des Emp.* T. 3. *Alexandre, art.* 27. 28. *Crevier's Hist. of the Rom. Emp.* Vol. 8. p. 347. &c.

modus, and had the honour of several considerable posts and employments under the succeeding Emperours. He was twice Consul, the second time with *Severus Alexander*, in the eighth year of that Emperour's reign, A. D. 229. After which, with the Emperour's leave he retired into his own countrey, and dwelled at Nice. He wrote the Roman Historie in 80 books, from the very begining to the reign of Alexander. A great part of his work is lost. There is however an epitome of his work from the time of Pompey to the end of it in the reign of Alexander, which was made by John Xiphilin, nephew to the Patriarch of Constantinople. But then, as Dion's Historie is justly admired, notwithstanding some defects; so Xiphilin's Epitome is likewise in good esteem. And in some places we find fragments of Dion himself. And the Epitome oftentimes represents Dion in his own words.

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Though Dion's Historie was not published till some time afterwards, I may well place him in the year 230. he having then been from the time of his admission into the Senate, almost forty years in a public character. And he was employed above twenty years in this work, ten years in making collections, and twelve more in digesting his materials, and putting them in order. And it is likely, that his work was published soon after the year 230.

II. I begin my extracts from this author with his account of the siege and taking of Jerusalem, to which a reference was made ^{††} formerly.

*Of the
Conquest
of Judaea
by Titus.*

“ In (b) the mean time, says he, *TITUS*, who was appointed
“ General in the war with the Jews, endeavoured to gain them by
“ ambassies and fair promises. When they refused to enter into trea-
“ tie, he determined to subdue them by the force of arms. For a
“ while they fought with equal successe. But having gained some
“ ad-

†† See vol. i. p. 139.

(b) *Dion. lib. 76. p. 746. &c. al. p. 1079. . . . 1082.*

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“ advantages over them, he laid siege to JERUSALEM, which was
 “ encompassed by three walls. The Romans drawing near attacked
 “ and battered them with their engines. And indeed they had a
 “ numerous armie, having in their camp large supplies from divers
 “ barbarian kings, who joyned them as auxiliaries. The Jews like-
 “ wise were very numerous, having with them the people out of the
 “ countrey, and others, who agreed with them in their religious
 “ rites, and not only such of their nation as lived in other parts of
 “ the Roman Empire, but also people from the countreys situated
 “ beyond the Euphrates. And as they fought from the walls they
 “ had an advantage in throwing darts and stones. And as often as
 “ favorable opportunities offered, they made sallies, and annoyed the
 “ Romans, by overthrowing, and destroying their platforms and bat-
 “ teries, and by other ways. Moreover (c) the Romans were in want
 “ of water, and were forced to go a great way to fetch it: though
 “ sometimes they got none but what was very indifferent. At such
 “ seasons, the Jews made excursions, and fell upon the soldiers, as
 “ they were dispersed abroad in the countrey. For they undermined
 “ the ground, and made passages under their very walls, to come at
 “ the Romans. But afterwards Titus stopt up all those passages.”

“ While

(c) Τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἀνδρίᾳ
 ἐκακοπαθεῖν, καὶ φαῦλον καὶ πορρωθεν ὕδωρ ἐπα-
 γόμενοι. p. 1080.

On the contrarie, Josephus, *l. v. cap. ix. §. 3. p. 350. in. Havercamp*, represents the Romans to have had great plenty of water. *Reimar* thinks this account of Dion more probable. I shall transcribe part of his note upon the place. Josephus contra vices mutatas refert, ut fontes Judaeis, etiam ante Titi adventum exaruerint, nunc Tito uberiores manarint. Sed haec aut comparate intelligenda sunt, aut

a pacis auctore Judaeis jactata. Probabilius Dio aquae inopiâ Romanos dicit laborasse. Nam fontes tota Palaestina rari, circa Hierosolymam rarissimi: plurima aqua ex cisternis: et imbribus cessantibus majus sitis quam famis periculum: ut testatur Hieronymus ad Amos. cap. iv. T. 3. edit. Martianaei. p. 1401. Conf. 2. Chron. xxxii. 3. Joel i. 20. Strab. xvi. p. 761. Accedebat bello saeviente multorum fontium et cisternarum obturatio. *Reimar. p. 1080. §. 30.*

“ While these things were doing, many were wounded, and killed on both Sides. Titus himself was wounded by a stone on the left shoulder, which weakened his arm ever after. At length the Romans became masters of the outer wall. And then encamping between the two walls, they attacked the inner wall: but with doubtful success. For the besieged being now enclosed in a lesser compass, were the better able to make a vigorous defense. However, Titus now renewed to them offers of peace by heralds, which he sent to them. But they peremptorily refused to accept of them. Moreover, if any of them were taken prisoners, and they who deserted, privately corrupted the water of the Romans, and killed them, when they found any of them alone. For which reason Titus determined to receive no more of them. In the mean time the Romans were greatly dispirited, as is common in long sieges, and suspecting the truth of what was given out, that the city was impregnable, some went over to the besieged: who, though they were themselves in great want of provisions, readily received them, and cherished them, to let the besiegers know, that they also had deserters.”

“ Though the Roman engines battered down the inner wall, yet the Jews were not overcome, but killed many who were striving to get within it. However, at length the Romans prevailed. And thus a way was opened for them to the temple. Nevertheless (d) they did not immediately attack it, being restrained by a certain superstitious respect for it. But in the end they moved forward and took possession of it, Titus compelling them so to do. At which time the Jews of all sorts, the meaner people, their Elders,

(d) 'Ου μὴν καὶ παραχρῆμα, διὰ τὸ δεισιδαιμονῆσαι, ἐσέδραμον· ἀλλ' ὁψέ ποτε, τῷ Τίτῳ σφᾶς καταναγκάσαντος, ἔσω προεχώρησαν. p. 1081. And Josephus says, that the

Roman soldiers had a respect for the temple. Τῶν μέν γε στρατιωτῶν ἐκ ἑστίν ὅσις οὐ μετὰ φρίκης εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφειώρα, καὶ προσεκύνει. κ. λ. *De B. l. 6. cap. ii. §. 3.*

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230.

“ders, and the priests, exerted themselves to the utmost : thinking
“themselves happy in being employed to fight for the temple, or to
“die near it. Nor were they overcome, though they were few a-
“gainst many, till a part of the temple was set on fire. Then they
“willingly surrendered : some yielded themselves to be killed by the
“Romans, some killed each other, others killed themselves, and
“some threw themselves into the flames. And it appeared to them
“not a calamity, but victorie, and safety, to be so happy as to pe-
“rish with the temple.”

“Many were taken prisoners, and among them *Bargioras* their
“General : who only was put to death at the time of the triumph.
“Thus (e) Jerusalem was taken on a Saturday, the day still respect-
“ed by the Jews above any other. From that time it was appoint-
“ed, that all who adhere to their religion should annually pay a
“didrachm to the Capitol of Jupiter. Upon this occasion both
“the Generals [*Vespasian and Titus*] received the appellation of Em-
“perour : but neither took the surname of *Judaicus*, although tri-
“umphal arches, and other honours, customarie after great victo-
“ries, were decreed to them.”

Such is the account of this great event, which we have in *Dion Cassius*. It is indeed short and defective. Nevertheless it is a tes-
timonie to the ruin of the temple and the city of Jerusalem, and the con-

(e) "Οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
Κρόνῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξάλετο. p. 181.

So writes *Dion*. But Cardinal *Noris* computes, that this happened on Sunday. *Eo anno Ebul, mensis in anno Judaeorum sextus, juxta hodiernos ipsorum cyclos, coepit die 26 Augusti. Ejus vero dies octavus fuit secundus Septembris, idemque dies Dominicus, five Solis, qui postremus urbi toto orbe celeberrimae illuxit. Noris De Epoch Syro-maced. Diff. i. cap. 3. p. 53. Lipsiae, 1696.*

And, as Mr. *Reimar* observes, *Josephus* does not say, that Jerusalem was taken on the Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. And if it had been taken on that Day, he would not have omitted that circumstance. *Nec Josephus ea die captam urbem adnotavit, non omissurus, credo, si ita fuisset. Reimar. in Dionis loc. Et supra. Notandus autem est error Dionis, ut aliorum, qui Hierosolyma fere semper Sabbatho capta tradiderunt, sibi hodie- num persuadent, &c. Id. ibid.*

conquest of Judea under Titus and Vespasian. The account is imperfect. But then we may conclude, that we here have *Dion* himself and not his abridger, who was a Christian. We must not much wonder at the conciseness. That may be owing to the contempt, which the author had for the Jewish people, who were scorned and despised by the great men among the Romans, and by all Heathens in general. *Dion* agrees with *Josephus* in many particulars, which every reader may be able to recollect, by comparing our accounts formerly given from *Josephus* himself. But he differs from him so much, and is so defective, that we may be apt to think he did not borrow from him. Indeed, I should very much question, whether *Dion* had read *Josephus's* seven books of the historie of the Jewish War. If he never read them, it is very likely that he never read the other works of that Jewish historian. It seems to me, that though *Dion* spent several years in making collections for his large historie of the Romans, he was not very curious, or inquisitive about that part of it, which related to the Jewish people (*f*). By which means he was led to give the very imperfect historie, which we have seen, of the final period of their common-wealth. It is in this way that I would account for his saying nothing of the miseries of the grievous famine endured by the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem: and his omitting the numbers of those who perished, or were made captives, in the siege, and during the war, which are so particularly mentioned by *Josephus*. However we see in him, that the several parts of the city were taken, one after another, and that the temple was consumed by fire, and that the Jews were very resolute and obstinate in their defense of themselves. Whence it may be inferred,

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H 2

and

(*f*) *Dion*, in his account of the conquest of Judea by Pompey, betrays great ignorance of the Jewish People in several respects. *Vid. lib. 37. p. 121. Sc. al. p. 36. 37.* He says, "the Temple, which they had built to their God at Jerusalem

was large and magnificent, but open at the top." Which is a great Mistake.

Καὶ αὐτῷ νεάν τὸ μέγιστον καὶ περικαλλέστατον, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀχαλῆς τε καὶ ἀνέροφος ἦν, ἐξεποίησαν. *p. 122.*

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and concluded, that they suffered a great deal, before they were subdued, and overthrown.

Of Domitian's Persecution.

III. We now proceed to another remarkable passage, which is in the historie of the Emperour Domitian. “ And (g) in the same year
“ [that is, when Domitian and Flavius Clement were Consuls, or
“ the year of Christ 95.] *Domitian* put to death, beside many others,
“ *Flavius Clement* the Consul, although he was his Cousin, and had
“ for his wife *Flavia Domitilla*, who also was his relation. They
“ were both accused of the crime of impiety. [or atheism.] Upon
“ which same account many others likewise, who had embraced the
“ Jewish customs, were condemned. Some of whom were put to
“ death, others suffered the confiscation of their goods. *Domitilla*
“ was only banished into *Pandateria*. *Glabrio*, who had been Consul with Trajan [in the year 91.] accused also, beside other matters, of the same crime with the rest, and because he had fought
“ with wild beasts, he put to death: against whom he was particularly incensed from a principle of envie. For having sent for
“ him in his Consulship to Albanum, at the time of the Juvenalia,
“ he made him enter the lists with a great lion. But he was so far
“ from being hurt in the combat, that with wonderfull dexterity he
“ killed the lion.”

Who *Flavius Clement* was, and how he was related to *Domitian*, was shewn before, in our chapter of (b) *Suetonius*. *Domitilla* we suppose

(g) Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλες τε πολλὰς καὶ τὸν Φλαβίον Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνέφικτον ὄντα, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενὴ αὐτοῦ, Φλαβίαν Δομιτίλλαν ἔχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανὸς. Επενήχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἐγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦθη ἐξακέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσερήθησαν· ἡ δὲ Δομιτίλλα ὑπερωρίσθη μόνον εἰς Πανδατέρειαν. Τὸν δὲ Γλαβρίωνα

τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραϊανῆος ἀρξάντα, κατηγόρηθέντα τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ οἷα οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ὅτι καὶ θηρίοις ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἔχεν, ὅτι ὑπατεύοντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ νεανισκείμενα ὀνομασμένα καλέσας, λέοντα ἀποκτεῖναι μέγαν ἠνάγκασε· καὶ ὅς ἐ μόνον ἐδὲν ἐλυμάνθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐσυχώτατα αὐτὸν κατεργάσατο.

L. 67. p. 766. al. p. 1112.

(h) See before p. 373. vol. 1.

suppose to have been daughter of *Domitilla*, *Domitian's* sister. She therefore was *Domitian's* niece. Undoubtedly, she (i) and her mother were so named from *Flavia Domitilla* wife of the Emperour *Vespasian*, and mother of *Titus* and *Domitian*, and of their sister *Domitilla*, just mentioned.

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Some difficulties there are, arising from a comparison of this account of *Dion* with that of *Suetonius*, formerly quoted. But they were then considered, and need not to be again stated †† here.

Here are three persons named, as accused of impiety, and suffering upon that account. Two of them were put to death, and one was banished.

Domitilla we conclude to have been a Christian. It is probable, that (k) *Clement* also was a Christian, or favourer of them. *Glabbrio's* christianity is not so evident. However some learned men (l) have been willing to allow them all three the character of Christians, and martyrs. But (m) *Tillemont* does not put *Glabbrio* in that number. I likewise think it may be questioned, whether he was a Christian, though accused of that, or Judaism. It is not unlikely, that some designing and malicious people took the opportunity to accuse *Glabbrio*

(i) Inter haec Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Latinaeque conditionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem Romanam recuperatorio judicio pronunciatam. . . . Ex hac liberos tulit, Titum, et Domitianum, et Domitillam. *Sueton. Vespas. cap. 3.*

†† See vol. i. p. 372. . . . 374.

(k) Vere autem Martyrem fuisse Clementem Consulem constat ex Dione. *Pearson. Opp. Post. p. 215. §. 22.*

(l) Vero igitur proximum est, fidei causa Clementem, Domitillam, Glabbri- onemque damnatos fuisse. *Basnag. ann. 95. num. v.*

Nec alios sub eo quam exules habemus in probis Ecclesiae monumentis, Flaviam illam Domitillam, et S. Joannem Apostolum. Antipas in Asia populi furore passus est. Nisi forte Glabbri- onem, quem Judaismi, et Flavium Coss, quem Athe- ismi nomine interfectos testis est Dio, Christianismi nomine interfectos intelligamus. *Dodw. Diff. Cypr. xi. §. xvi.*

(m) Vid. Domitien. art. xiv. et Note i. sur la persecution de Domitien. *M. E. T. 2. p. 523.*

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Glabrio of what would at that time, especially, render him obnoxious to *Domitian*. And the Emperour made no scruple of laying hold of this pretense, to destroy a man, against whom he had a grudge of three or four years standing, ever since the year 92. Nor is this the first instance we have met with of men unfairly charged with Christianity by their enemies. Pliny's letter to Trajan affords some such instances, and there may have been many more.

According to Dion's account, *Glabrio* was a man, who had indulged himself in the hazardous and un reputable diversion of fighting with wild beasts. Which can by no means agree with the character of a Christian. For skill in that exercise he was much celebrated. And *Domitian* sent for him to Albanum, at the feast of the *Juvenalia*, even in the time of his Consulship, to add to the splendour of the shows: and perhaps hoping to have destroyed him that way. But *Glabrio* was victorious, though the lion was very formidable. And *Domitian*, instead of being well pleased therewith, was provoked. However, he let him escape at that time. But now, he laid hold of the pretense of irreligion, to put him to death.

Dion Cassius calls *Domitilla* wife of *Clement*. *Eusebius* (n) from *Bruttius* calls her niece of *Clement*. Hence some (o) have argued, that there were two of this name, who suffered for Christianity in the time of *Domitian*, one a virgin, the other a married woman, and banished into different places, one to the island *Pontia*, the other to *Pandateria*. I rather think, that (p) there was but one *Domitilla*, who suffered at this time, the wife of the Consul *Clement*, and niece of *Domitian*. *Eusebius* and *Jerome* have not mentioned more than one. Which surely they must have done, if there had been two. *Domitilla* was banished into *Pontia*, as *Bruttius* says. It was easie for

(n) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 18. p. 89.*

(o) See Tillemont sainte Flavie Domitille, Vierge et Martyre, avec son oncle *Clement*, Consul et Martyre. *Mem. Ecc. Tom. 2. p. 124. &c.*

(p) *Vid. Basnag. ann. 95. num. vii. et viii.*

for Dion to mistake *Pandateria* for *Pontia*. Jerome (*q*) has particularly mentioned the confinement of *Domitilla* in the island *Pontia*. Nor does he call her virgin, as he would have done, if he had supposed that to have been her condition.

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Jerome tells us, that *Paula*, in her voyage from Rome to Jerusalem, near the end of the fourth centurie, saw the place of her habitation in that island: Where, as he says, she *suffered a long martyrdom*. Possibly, when other exils were recalled, *Domitilla* was not. Her near relation to Domitian, whose memorie was infamous, might some way or other be an obstacle.

What we have principally to observe, is the attestation here given by this noble and diligent historian, to the progresse of Christianity, and the sufferings of it's professors. It had now got footing in the Imperial familie. *Clement* suffered death upon account of it. And his wife, *Domitilla*, was banished to a remote and unwholsome island, where persons were wont to be sent for state crimes, or other like offenses.

It is generally allowed, that (*r*) *Clement* was a Christian, as well as *Domitilla*. Some have supposed, that (*s*) his whole familie was Christian. That, I think, is more than we can say. But it is very likely, that some of their servants were Christians. Many were accused, and condemned upon the same account. Some suffered death, others confiscation of goods: others were banished, as *Domitilla*.

(*q*) Delata [Paula] ad insulam Pontiam, quam clarissimae quondam feminarum sub Domitiano principe pro confessione nominis Christiani, Flaviae Domitillae nobilitavit exilium: videntque cellulas, in quibus illa longum martyrium duxerat, sumtis fidei alis, Jerosolymam et sancta loca videre cupiebat. *Hieron. ep.* 86. al. 27. T. 4. p. 672. fin.

(*r*) Ipsum etiam Clementem Christianum fuisse, nonnulli colligunt ex Suetonio cap. 15. quia *contemptissimae inertiae* hominem appellat: qua notâ Christiani solent inuri. *Reimar. ad Dionem.* p. 1113. §. 82.

(*s*) . . . et totam Clementis familiam fuisse Christianam, verisimillimum est. *Id. ib.* §. 83.

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tilla. This is at least (*t*) the fourth Heathen Author, who has afforded us a testimonie to the persecution of the Christians in the reign of the Emperour *Domitian*. And though it was but short, it seems to have been felt by many persons.

Nerva
favorable
to the
Christians

IV. In the month of September, in the year 96. *Domitian* was succeeded by *NERVA*. Of whom *Dion* says: "He (*u*) published a "pardon for those who were condemned for impiety, and recalled "those who were banished." And after the mention of a law of the same Emperour concerning slaves, he adds: "And besides, he forbade the accusing of any men upon account of impiety, or Judaism."

It has been a question among learned men, whether *Domitian* by any edict put an end to the persecution of the Christians before his death. This (*x*) passage of *Dion* has been thought sufficient by some to determine the question, and to assure us, that the persecution did not cease, till after the beginning of *Nerva's* reign.

We may be satisfied of this passage likewise, that it is not *Xiphilin's*, but *Dion's*, in his own words, though perhaps contracted. The style is the style of a Heathen, and not of a Christian. And this passage may be supposed to confirm the supposition of the severity of *Domitian's* persecution, though it was not long. Beside those put to Death, or banished by him, there were others under accusation, or under a sentence of condemnation, who now escaped by the lenity or goodnesse of *Nerva*.

I may add a short passage from *Orosius*, a Christian writer, who says,

(*t*) See *Juvenal* p. 360. *Vol. i. Suetonius*.
p. 371. 372. *Vol. i. Brutius*. p. 121.
Vol. 2. and now Dion Cassius.

Τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἐπ' ἀσεβείας ἔτε Ἰουδαϊκῶ βίβη
καταιτιᾶσθαι τινὰς συνεχάρησε. *Lib. 68. p.*
769. al. 1118.

(*u*) Καὶ ὁ Νερούας τὰς τε κρινόμενας ἐπ'
ἀσεβείᾳ ἀρῆκε, καὶ τὰς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε. . .

(*x*) See the Supplement to the *Credib.*
Vol. i. p. 377. . . 381.

says, "that (*) Nerva, by his first edict recalled all such as had
" been exiled. And the Apostle John improving this general indul-
" gence, then returned to Ephesus."

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V. I shall take one passage more from this author, concerning
Marcia, concubine of the Emperour *Commodus*. " She (y) is re-
" lated to have had a great affection for the Christians, and to have
" done them many good offices, she having a great ascendance over
" *Commodus*."

Marcia,
friendly to
the Chri-
stians.

What is here said, may be true. For the Christians enjoyed
great peace in the reign of this Emperour. And *Marcia*, though
(z) a woman of low condition, had a great influence upon him.
She sometimes gave him good advice. And the honours paid to
her, were little below those of an (a) Empreffe. I need not add any
other particulars of her historie.

But (b) this paragraph I rather think to be *Xiphilin's*, than *Dion's*.
The stile at least is *Xiphilin's*. In the other passages before quoted
Dion speaks of *impiety*, or *atheism*, or *Judaism*, but never useth the
word *Christians*. Another thing, that may make us doubt, whether
this

(*) Hic primo edicto suo cunctos ex-
ules revocavit. Unde et Joannes Aposto-
lus hoc generali indulgentia liberatus,
Ephesum rediit. *Oros. l. 7. cap. xi. p.*
485.

(y) Ισορεΐται δὲ αὕτη πολλά τε ὑπὲρ τῶν
Χριστιανῶν σπεύδασαι, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτὸς ἐνεργε-
τηκέναι, ἅτε καὶ παρὰ τῷ Κομμόδῳ πᾶν δυνα-
μένη. *Lib. 72. p. 819. al. p. 1206.*

(z) Huic Marcia, generis libertini,
formâ tamen meretriciisque artibus pol-
lens, cum animum ejus penitus devinx-
isset, egresso e balneo, veneni poculum
dedit. *Victor. Epit. cap. xvii.*

(a) Επεὶ δὲ τὴν γνώμην αὐτῆς ταύτην ἀνέ-
τεγκε πρὸς Μαρκίαν, ἣν ἔχε τὴν παλλακίδα
τιμιωτάτην, ἣ ἐδέν τι ἀπέχε γαμετῆς γυνα-
ικὸς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὅσα σεβαστῇ πλὴν τῆ πυρός.
Herodian. l. i. p. 486. Sylburg.

(b) Haec de Marcia Christianis faven-
te, non Dionis esse, sed Xiphilini, sus-
picor: quod etiam innuit praemissa for-
mula, *ισορεΐται δέ*. Neque tamen hodie
scio, an apud alios scriptores Christianos
merita ejus praedicata legantur. Eoque
minus Dioni id tanti poterat videri, quod
commemoraret. *Reimar. ad Dion. p.*
1207. §. 34.

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230.

this observation be entirely Dion's, is the phrase, *it is related*. For at the begining of the reign of Commodus he says: "These (c) things, and what follows, I write not from the report of others, " but from my own knowledge and observation." However, the sense may be *Dion's*. But I wish, we had also his stile, without any adulteration.

Of the
Shower in
Germanie.

VI. *Dion's* account of the extraordinarie shower, by which *Mark Antonin* and his armie were preserved in Germanie, was observed formerly, together with *Xiphilin's* remarks upon it. To which (d) therefore the reader is now referred.

(c) Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐκ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας ἔτι παραδόσεως, ἀλλ' ἐξ αἰκείας ἡδὲ τηρήσεως. *Ib.* p. 818. *al.* p. 1205.

(d) *Vol.* ii. p. 235.



P. A. H. C.

Vol. III.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The Persecution of
MAXIMIN the First, or the THRACIAN.

MAXIMIN the first, or *Lucius Maximinus the Thracian* (a) succeeded *Severus Alexander* in the year 235. and died in 238. The (b) excessive cruelty of his disposition is acknowledged by Heathen Historians.

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235.

Sulpicius Severus, passing from *Septimius Severus* to *Decius*, mentions this persecution, without numbring it. He says, that (c) Maximin persecuted the Clergie of some Churches. Which implies, that this persecution was local only, and not general.

Says Eusebius: "The Emperour Alexander being slain, after he had reigned thirteen years, he was succeeded by Maximin. Who

I 2

" being

(a) Sed occiso Alexandro, Maximinus primum e corpore militari, et nondum senator, sine decreto Senatus, Augustus ab exercitu appellatus est, filio sibimet in participatum dato. *Capitolin. Maximin. cap. 8. p. 24. Conf. Pagi ann. 238. iv. Basn. ann. 235. num. ii.*

(b) Sed inter has virtutes tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busiridem, nonnulli Phalarim vocarent. Se-

natus eum tantum timuit, ut vota in templis publice privatimque mulieres etiam cum suis liberis facerent, ne ille unquam urbem Romam videret. *Id. ib.*

(c) Interjectis deinde annis 38. pax Christianis fuit: nisi quod medio tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit. *S. Sev. l. 2. cap. 32. p. 247.*

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235.

“(d) being filled with hatred against the familie of Alexander, in
 “ which there were many Christians, raised a persecution : appoint-
 “ ing, that the Presidents only of the Churches should be put to
 “ death, as being the men who spread abroad the doctrine of the
 “ gospel. At which time Origen composed his book of martyr-
 “ dom, which he inscribed to *Ambrose*, and *Protoctetus*, Presbyter
 “ of the Church of *Cesarea* : forasmuch as they were at that time
 “ in great danger of suffering death. And they gained great ho-
 “ nour by that confession.” That book of Origen, which is an ex-
 hortation to martyrdom, is still extant. I made several valuable
 extracts from it (e) formerly. It appears hence, that Ambrose and
 Protoctetus were imprisoned, though the place is not now exactly
 known.

Orosius, not very disagreeably to Eusebius, says, “ that (f) Maxi-
 “ min’s persecution proceeded chiefly from aversion to the Christian
 “ familie of his predecessor Alexander, and his mother Mammaea :
 “ and that his persecution was intended against the Clergie, and par-
 “ ticularly, against the presbyter Origen.” So Orosius. And some
 learned men are of opinion, that Origen, though he sent his Exhor-
 tation to Martyrdom to the two above named Confessors, retired (g)
 himself, and lived privatly a part of this reign.

It has been argued by Pagi (h) and other learned (i) men, that
 this persecution did not reach to Africa.

There

(d) “Ὅς δὴ κατὰ λόγον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξ-
 ἀνδρὸς οἶκον ἐκ πλείονων πιστῶν συνέσσωτα, διωγ-
 μὸν ἐγείρας, τὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀρχοντας μὲ-
 νος, ὡς αἰτίους τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασ-
 καλίας ἀναιρεῖσθαι προσάττει. *H. E. l. 6.*
cap. 28.

Maximinus adversum ecclesiarum sa-
 cerdotes persecutionem facit. *Chron. p.*
174.

(e) *Credib. Vol 3. p. 224. &c.*

(f) Sed continuo, hoc est tertio quam
 regnabat anno, a Pupieno Aquileiae in-

terfectus, et persecutionis et vitae finem
 fecit. Qui maxime propter Christianam
 Alexandri, cui successerat, et Mammaeae
 matris familiam, persecutionem in sacer-
 dotes et clericos, et doctores, vel praeci-
 pue propter Origenem presbyterum mise-
 rat. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 19. p. 509.*

(g) See Tillem. in *Origene. art. 21. and*
Moshem. p. 469.

(h) *Vid. Pagi ann. 235. num. iii.*

(i) *Basnag. ann. 235. num. v.*

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235.

There was at this time a persecution of the Christians in Pontus and Cappadocia, as appears from (k) Firmilian's letter to Cyprian. But it is not clear, that it was occasioned by any Edict of *Maximin*. But the President was bigoted, and cruel, and the Christians were greatly molested by him. However, the neighboring provinces being peaceable, the Christians left their own countrey, and went thither.

Mr. Mosheim, to (l) whom I refer, has very good observations upon this persecution. He allows, that (m) during that whole reign Christians suffered in some places. There may therefore, as I apprehend, have been more sufferers, than now we have the exact knowledge of.

(k) Ante viginti enim et duos fere annos, temporibus post Alexandrum Imperatorem, multae istic conflictationes et pressurae acciderunt, vel in commune omnibus hominibus, vel privatim Christianis. Terrae etiam motus plurimi et frequentes exstiterunt, ut per Cappadociam et per Pontum multa subruerent, . . . ut ex hoc persecutio quoque gravis adversum nos Christiani nominis fieret. Quae post longam retro aetatis pacem repente oborta, de inopinato et insueto malo ad turbandum populum nostrum terribior effecta est. Serenianus tunc fuit in nostra provincia Praeses, acerbus et dirus

persecutor. In hac autem perturbatione constitutis fidelibus, et huc atque illuc persecutionis metu fugientibus, et patrias suas relinquentibus, atque in alias partes regionum transeuntibus, (erat enim transeundi facultas, eo quod persecutio illa non per totum mundum, sed localis fuisset) &c. *Firmilian ad Cyprian. ep. 75. p. 222. Oxon. p. 146. Baluz.*

(l) *De Reb. Christianorum. &c. p. 467. . . . 470.*

(m) Hinc facile credimus illis, qui per totum illud, quod Maximinus regnavit, triennium vexatos passim Christianos fuisse, censent. *Ib. p. 468.*

C H A P. XXIX.

The Emperour PHILIP.

The Question considered, whether he was a
Christian.

I. *His Time.* II. *Reasons for this Inquiry.* III. *An Argument, shewing, that he was not a Christian, and the Judgements of divers learned men concerning it.*

A. D. 244. *His Time.* I. **T**HE Emperour Gordian was succeeded by PHILIP, who took his son into partnership with him. He (a) was an Arab, son of a captain of Arabian robbers. He (b) reigned five years and somewhat longer. His (c) time is computed from March in the year of Christ 244. to July in 249.

II. Of

(a) Igitur Marcus Julius Philippus Arabs Thraconites, sumpto in consortium Philippo filio. Romam venere. *Victor. de Caesar. cap. 28.*

(b) Marcus Julius Philippus imperavit annos quinque. . . Is Philippus humillimo

ortus loco fuit, patre nobilissimo latronum ductore. *Victor. Epit. cap. 28. Conf. Eutrop. l. 9. §. iii. et Capitolin. iii. cap. 29. p. 124.*

(c) Hoc etiam anno uterque Philippus pater

II. Of this Emperour Eusebius tells the following storie. “ When
 “ (d) Gordian had reigned six whole years, he was succeeded by Phi-
 “ lip and his Son. It (e) is reported, that this Emperour, as being
 “ a Christian, on the last day of the vigils of Easter, desired to par-
 “ take in the prayers of the Church with the rest of the people : but
 “ that the Bishop would not permit him, till he had made confessi-
 “ on of his sins, and had placed himself in the number of the lapsed,
 “ and among the penitents. And if he had not done that, he would
 “ never have been admitted by the Bishop, because of his many
 “ crimes. And (f) it is said, that he readily complied, and that he
 “ manifested a sincere fear of God by his deeds.”

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244.

*Reasons
for this
Inquiry.*

It is obvious to observe, that Eusebius speaks only upon the ground of report, and common fame. Nor does he name the Bishop, nor the place, where it happened. Chrysostom (g) is supposed to supply that defect, as he ascribes a like action to Babylas Bishop of Antioch. But then he does not name the Emperour.

I forbear to transcribe the absurd and inaccurate account of the same thing in (b) the Paschal Chronicle.

According to the Acts or Passion of the Martyr Pontius (i) Philip and his son were converted by the same Pontius, and baptised by Fabian Bishop of Rome. And, fabulous as those Acts may be, Hu-
 et,

pater et filius Impp. circa mensem Julium occisi sunt, sexto imperii anno inchoato. *Pagi. ann. 249. num. v. Conf. Basnag. ann. 244. n. iv.*

(d) *H. E. l. 6. cap. 34.*

(e) *Τὸν κατέχει λόγος. . . . κ. λ.*

(f) *Καὶ πεθαρχῆσαι γὰρ προθύμως λέγεται.*

(g) *Chrys. de S. Babyla contr. Julian. et Gent. T. 2. p. 544. 545.*

(b) *P. 270.*

(i) Tunc beatissimus Pontius ad episcopum urbis Romae nomine Fabianum, qui ecclesiae Dei praeerat, convolavit, et omnia ei ex ordine pandit. . . . Alia vero die cum simul ad Principes venissent, et sacramenta eis divina demonstrassent, baptismi gratiam consequuti sunt. *Passio. S. Pontii, num. xiii. T. 2. p. 133. edit. Baluz.*

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244.

et, seems to relye upon them, and believes, that (*k*) those Emperours were baptized by Fabian.

In a chapter, following that before quoted, Eusebius, among other proofs of Origen's great reputation at that time, says, he (*l*) wrote a letter to the Emperour Philip, and another to his wife Severa. Which (*m*) is also mentioned by Jerome, in his book of Illustrious Men. Who likewise there calls Philip the first Christian Emperour, and says, those letters were still extant. Nevertheless I think it does not appear, what was in those letters, nor that ever they were seen either by Eusebius, or Jerome.

In Jerome's Latin edition of Eusebe's Chronicle (*n*) Philip is said to be the first Christian Emperour. And in like manner speak (*o*) Orosius, and some other Christian Authors.

All which has occasioned a debate among learned men of late times, whether Philip was a Christian, or not: Baronius (*p*) Huet (*q*) and (*) some others, taking the affirmative side of the question, others the negative. Tillemont (*r*) says, it is not without difficulties. And Mr. Mosheim, (*s*) has done his utmost to perplex this question. And the more to encrease the difficulty, argues, that (*t*) he might be

(*k*) Sic igitur sentio, Christi sacris a Fabiano Papa initiatum fuisse Philippum. *Origen. l. i. c. 3. p. 19.*

(*l*) *H. E. l. 6. cap. 36.*

(*m*) Quodque ad Philippum Imperatorem, qui primus de Regibus Romanis Christianus fuit, et ad matrem [uxorem] ejus literas fecit, quae usque hodie extant. *De V. I. cap. 54. de Origene.*

(*n*) Philippus Philippum filium suum consortem regni fecit. Primusque omnium ex Romanis Imperatoribus Christianus fuit. *Chr. p. 174.*

(*o*) Hic primus Imperatorum omnium Christianus fuit. &c. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 20.*

(*p*) *Baron. ann. 246.*

(*q*) *Origen. l. 1. cap. 3. n. xii.*

(*) *Our writers of Universal, ancient History, in the article of Roman History. B. 3. ch. xxiii. vol. xv. p. 408. &c. note (L).*

(*r*) *Hist. Emp. Tom. 3. L'Emp. Philip. note 1.*

(*s*) *De Reb. Christianor. ante C. M. p. 471. . . . 476.*

(*t*) Neque desunt argumenta, quae hos Imperatores clam licet et secreto ad sacra Christiana transisse probabile reddant. Sed his rationibus quum aliae possint opponi aequae validae ac speciosae, quaestio illa,

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be a Christian secretly, though not openly. And upon the whole, according to him, it is a point, not to be decided, whether the two Philips, father and son, were Christians, or not.

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III. For my own part, I should think, that we might spare ourselves the trouble of inquiring into the privacies of this Emperour, and may (*u*) do better to determine his character by his public conduct. But without indulging harangue, or complaint, I shall now immediatly refer to some ecclesiastical historians, where, so far as I am able to judge, the question is fairly treated, and rightly decided. They are (*x*) Pagi (*y*) Basnage, (*z*) Cellarius, (*a*) Frederick Spanheim, not forgetting (*b*) the great Scaliger.

*That he
was not a
Christian.*

I. My first argument is, that divers ancient Christian writers expressly say, that Constantin was the first Roman Emperour, who made profession of the Christian Religion.

The first to be quoted is Lactantius, contemporarie with Eusebius, but rather older, who (*c*) in his inscription of his Institutions to

illa, quae tot viros doctos exercuit, de Philippi Arabis, ejusque filii religione, in medio relinqui debet. *Moshem. Insti. p. 110.*

(*u*) Quae vero signa in eo sunt Christianae pietatis? Nullum ejus rei vestigium apparet. Nobis vero id valde dubium est, quia nec ullus idoneus auctor ostendit, vel deorum templa clausisse, vel Christo aliud dedicasse, vel aliud egisse, quod Christianam vitam et professionem probaret. *Cellar. Diff. p. 323.*

(*x*) *Ann. 244. n. iv. et. seqq. ann. 247. num. vi. et seqq. Vid. et Fr. Pagi Breviarium Pont. Roman. T. i. p. 40. &c.*

(*y*) *Basnag. ann. 244. n. vi. &c.*

(*z*) *Cell. Diff. de primo principe Christiano. §. xxi. &c. p. 322.*

(*a*) *Spanhem. Opp. T. 2. p. 405. &c. Qua disquiritur, quo jure Philippi Imp. Pater et Filius, pro Christianis habeantur.*

(*b*) *Animadversion. in Euseb. p. 234.*

(*c*) *Quod opus nunc nominis tui auspicio inchoamus, Constantine, Imperator maxime. Qui primus Romanorum principum, repudiatis erroribus, majestatem Dei singularis, ac veri cognovisti et honorasti. Inst. 1. l. c. 1.*

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Constantin, addreſſeth him in the character of the firſt Emperour of the Romans, who had forſaken the errors of Gentiliſm.

In like manner Sulpicius Severus, who published his Sacred Hiſtorie in the year 400. or ſoon after. “ That (d) ſays he, was the end of the perſecution. From that time there have been Chriſtian Emperours, of whom Conſtantine was the firſt.”

Theodoret, at the end of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, ſays, that (e) before Conſtantine all the Roman Emperours were enemies to the Chriſtians.

Chryſoſtom ſays, “ that (f) all the Roman Emperours, Auguſtus, “ Tiberius, Caius, Nero, Veſpaſian, Titus, and after him all the “ reſt, were Gentils, till the time of the bleſſed Conſtantine. And “ all of them oppoſed the Church, ſome indeed with greater, others “ with leſs violence, however all of them in ſome meaſure. And “ as they all lived in impiety, that alone was an encouragement to “ the people, to oppoſe the Chriſtians.”

Nor can Eusebius be omitted, who at the concluſion of his Life of Conſtantine, ſays, “ that (g) he was the only Roman Emperour, “ who

(d) Sed finis perſecutionis illius fuit, abhinc annos ix. et lxxx. A quo tempore Chriſtiani Imperatores eſſe coeperunt. Namque tum Conſtantine rerum potiebatur, qui primus omnium Romanorum principum Chriſtianus fuit. *Sacr. Hiſt. l. 2. cap. 33. p. 248. Cleric.*

(e) Καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς Κωνſταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλείας, ὅσοι Ρωμαίων ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς κατὰ τῶν θιαſωτῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλύττησαν. *Theod. H. E. l. 5. cap. 39. p. 248.*

(f) Ἕλληνες ἦσαν βασιλεῖς Ἀύγουſτος, Τιβερίος, Γαῖος, Νέρων. Ουſπεſιανὸς, Τίτος, καὶ μετ’ ἑκείνων ἅπαντες ἕως τῶν τοῦ μακαρίου Κωνſταντίνου χρόνων τῆ βασιλείας. Καὶ πάντες οὗτοι, οἱ μὲν ἑλαττον, οἱ δὲ ſφοδρότερον ἐπολέμουν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐπολέμουν δ’ ἐν ὅμῳ ἅπαντες. Ἐν δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν ἔδοξαν, αὐτὰ τῷ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος καταδήλως εἶναι ἐπὶ ἀσεβείᾳ, ὑπόθεσις πολέμων ἐγένετο, τῶν ἄλλων κολακευόντων αὐτοὺς, θεραπευόντων ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολέμῳ. *Chr. Contr. Jud. et Gent. T. i. p. 578. Bened.*

(g) Μόνος μὲν Ρωμαίων βασιλέως τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν ὑπερβολῇ θεοσεβείας τέτιμνηκός· μόνος δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι πεπαρρησιασμένως τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κηφύζαντος λόγον. κ. λ. *De Vita Conſt. l. 4. cap. 75.*

“who hitherto had worshiped the true God with sincere piety, and
“had embraced and recommended the doctrine of Jesus Christ.”

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Pagi therefore says, he (*b*) is persuaded, that all which Eusebius says about the Christianity of Philip, he had received from uncertain tradition.

2. All Heathen writers are silent about the Christianity of Philip and his son.

It seems to me, that (*i*) Spanheim does rightly insist on this argument, as of no small weight. Nor has (*k*) Julian in his *Cæsars* taken any notice of it. If Philip had been a Christian, they would, some of them, have reproached him upon that account, and they would have reproached his Christianity, with the crimes, of which he was guilty. For his treacherie to the Young Gordian was well known, and was very odious, and (*l*) is spoken of as such.

3. Philip celebrated the secular games at Rome, in the thousandth year of the city, and in the usual manner, with great magnificence: as we are assured by ancient medals, and by Christian, as well as by Heathen writers.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is said, that (*m*) at that time innumerable beasts were slain in the Circus, and there were theatrical

K 2

shews

(*b*) Verum re maturius examinata nunc non dubito, quin Eusebius, quod habet de Christiana professione Philippi, ex incerta auditione retulerit. *Ann.* 244. n. v.

(*i*) Primo silent isti historici, qui res Philipporum Deciorumve ex professo quondam tradiderunt. . . . Certe apud Aelium Spartianum, Julium Capitolinum, Aelium Lampridium, Aurelium Victor, Eutropium abbreviatorem, Zosimum, . . . nulla vestigia deprehendas Christianae in Philippis religionis. *Spanh.* p. 413.

(*k*) Julianus Imp. in Satyrâ suâ de Cae-

faribus, de Philippo tacet, non facturus, siquidem hic Christianus fuisset. &c. *Ibid.* p. 413. m.

(*l*) Ita Philippus impie non jure obtinuit imperium. *Capitolin. Gordian. iii. cap.* 31. p. 127.

(*m*) Regnantibus Philippis millesimus annus Romanae urbis expletus est: ob quam solennitatem innumerabiles bestiae in circo magno interfectae: ludique in Campo Martio theatrales tribus diebus et noctibus populo pervigilante celebrati. *Euseb. Chr. p.* 174.

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shews in the Campus Martius for three days and three nights. And (n) Orosius acknowledgeth, that the secular games were celebrated by Philip with great magnificence: though he will have it, that all was designed to the honour of Christ.

Capitolinus, (o) one of the writers of the Augustan Historie, is very particular, in representing the great number, and various sorts of beasts, produced to public show, or slain by Philip, upon occasion of this solemnity. And other Heathen authors, as well as ancient medals, bear witnesse to his celebrating this festival, with great magnificence, as (p) Eutropius, whom I transcribe below, and refer to the (q) Victors.

4. Once more, finally, the Philips were deified after their death, as (r) Eutropius says. Which shews, that they were reckoned to be Heathens. And Philip put Gordian in the number of the gods, as Capitolinus (s) says, in which he acted like a Heathen.

Upon

(n) Ita magnificis ludis augustissimus omnium praeteritorum hic natalis annus a Christiano Imperatore celebratus est. Nec dubium est, quin Philippus hujus tantae devotionis gratiam et honorem ad Christum et ecclesiam reportavit, &c. *Oros. l. 7. c. 20.*

(o) Fuerunt sub Gordiano Romae Elephantum xxx. et II. . . . tigres x. leones mansueti lx. . . . gladiatorum fiscalium paria mille: hippopotamus, et rhinoceros unus . . . equi feri xl. et cetera hujusmodi animalia, innumera et diversa: quae omnia Philippus ludis secularibus vel dedit, vel occidit. . . . Nam omnia haec Philippus exhibuit secularibus ludis et muneribus atque Circensibus, quum millesimum ab urbe condita annum in consulatu suo et filii sui celebravit. *Capitol. Gordian. iii. cap. 33. p. 132. . . 134.*

(p) His imperantibus, millesimus annus Romae urbis ingenti ludorum apparatu spectaculorumque celebratus est. &c. *Eutrop. l. 9. cap. 3.*

(q) Vide *Victor. de Caesar. cap. 28. et Epit. cap. 28.*

(r) Ambo inde ab exercitu interfecti sunt: Senior Philippus Veronae, Romae junior. Annis v. imperaverunt, inter Divos tamen relati sunt. *Eutrop. l. 9. cap. 3.*

(s) Denique Philippus quum eum interfecisset, neque imagines ejus tolleret, neque statuas deponeret, neque nomen abraderet, sed Divum semper appellans etiam apud ipsos milites, cum quibus factionem fecerat, serio animo et peregrina calliditate veneratus est. *Capitolin. ut supra, p. 128.*

Upon the whole therefore I can see no reason to believe, that the Emperour Philip was by belief or profession a Christian: though he might be favorable to some, who were so.

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As I do not love to be singular, I shall now transcribe the judgments of several learned men upon this point. Says Crevier: "He
" (t) is said to have been a Christian. But, if he was, it seems to
" me very strange, that none of the Pagan writers, who have spoken
" of him, should have mentioned it. Zosimus, in particular, who
" is full of venom against Christianity, and who takes a pleasure in
" loading Constantin with the most atrocious calumnies, would surely
" not have spared Philip. The Christian writers, upon whose au-
" thority the notion of this Praetorian Prefect's Christianity is found-
" ed, certainly deserve respect. But their accounts are so confused,
" so full of circumstances, either palpably contradictory, or abso-
" lutely refuted by history, that the weight of their testimonie is
" considerably diminished. Though Mr. Tillemont inclines to their
" opinion, I am not afraid to own, that what he himself has writ-
" ten upon this subject, makes me of a different mind. If Philip
" did profess our religion, he was certainly a bad Christian. I had
" rather believe, that being born in the neighborhood of the coun-
" trey, which was the cradle of Christianity, he might thence ac-
" quire some tincture of it: and that he favored it, as *Alexander Se-*
" *verus* had done, but without renouncing his idolatrous superstiti-
" on, to which he adhered, when Emperour." And afterwards (u)
" The celebration of the secular games, in which all the pomp of
" the Pagan superstition was displayed, is a direct proof of the pub-
" lic profession which Philip made of his attachment to idolatrie. It
" is a violation of all probability, to suppose without any evidence,
" that the Emperour could celebrate them, without taking part in
" the sacrifices that accompanied them, or rather which were the
" ef-

(t) *Historie of the Roman Emperours* vol. viii. p. 419.

(u) *As before*, vol. ix. p. 9.

A. D. 244. “essential part of them, and the very foundation of the whole festival.”

Pagi, at the conclusion of one part of his argument upon this subject, has an observation, which may be reckoned sage and pertinent. “There (x) is no more reason, says he, to believe what Eusebius here says, of the Christianity of the Emperour Philip, than what he says, of Abgarus King of the Edeffens, that having heard of the fame of Christ’s miracles, he wrote a letter to him: and that our Lord returned him an answer, promising to send to him one of his Apostles. Nor is there any more regard to be had to Jerome, when he calls the Emperour Philip a convert to Christianity: than when he speaks of the Letters of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul. The first Christians, says he, wholly intent upon propagating our faith, and being men of great candour, oftentimes too easily admitted stories, which were favorable to our religion. Of which there are many instances.” A remarkable observation of a Franciscan Monk, but a truly learned man.

Cellarius has an observation to the like purpose. “The (y) more greedily

(x) Hic tantum dicam, non majorem fidem adhibendam Eusebio, Philippum Imp. Christianum facienti, quam eidem affirmanti Abgarum Edeffensorum Regem, auditis Christi miraculis ad ipsum literas dedisse, et Christum mutuas ad eum literas scripsisse, quibus se missurum ad ipsum unum ex Apostolis suis pollicitus est. . . . Nec etiam major fides Hieronymi de conversione Philippi Imperatoris loquentis, quam cum in lib. de Script. Eccles. de Seneca scribit. *Quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum, nisi me illae epistolae provocarent, quae leguntur a plurimis Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecae ad Paulum.* Priores Christiani fidei nostrae promovendae toti addicti, et summo animi candore praediti, sese saepe nimis faciles in iis, quae re-

ligioni favebant, prae buerunt, ut innumera exempla demonstrant. *Pagi ann. 244. num. vii.*

(y) Quam cupide autem hoc creditum a majoribus fuit, tanto id minus fit vero simile, si veteres auctores excutiantur. Qui adseverant Christianum fuisse, ideo videntur in hanc opinionem ingressi, ut millesimum Urbis annum Christi potius quam deorum cultori vindicarent. *Oros. l. 7. c. 28. de Constantino Magno. Primus Imperatorum Christianus, excepto Philippo, qui Christianus annis admodum paucissimis ad hoc tantum constitutus fuisse mihi visus est, ut millesimus Romae annus Christo potius, quam idolis dicaretur.* *Cellar. Diss. de primo principe Christiano num. xxii. p. 322.*

“ greedily this storie was received by our ancestors, the more care-
 “ fully ought we to examine their testimonie concerning it. For
 “ they seem, (some of them at least) to have embraced this opinion
 “ about Philip: being desirous to have it thought, that the secular
 “ games of the thousandth year of the City of Rome were celebrat-
 “ ed to the honour of Christ, and not of the gods.” I must not
 allow myself to take any thing more from this author: though his
 Observations upon the Christianity ascribed to Philip, appear to me
 very clear, and solid. And I recollect, that I did before transcribe
 some of his thoughts upon this point, at p. 65. note (u).

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CHAP.

C H A P. XXX.

The Emperour D E C I U S.

- I. *His Time, and Character.* II. *Accounts of his Persecution.* III. *A Persecution at Alexandria, before the publication of his Edict.* IV. *That this Persecution was universal.*

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249.
*His Time,
and Character.*

I. **W**E sometimes meet with chronological difficulties, where they might be little expected. Eusebius in his Chronicle says, that (a) DECIUS reigned only one year and three months. And in his Historie, that (b) he and his sons were slain, before he had reigned two years. Which (c) account Baronius follows. But learned men are now rather of opinion, that (d) Decius reached to the third year. And it is computed, that (e) he reigned from July or August 249. to November or December 251.

Eu-

(a) Romanorum vicessimus quintus regnavit Decius anno uno, menses iii. *Chron.* p. 175.

(b) *H. E. l. 7. cap. i.*

(c) *Ann. 254. n. xlix.*

(d) Dece a certainement commencé la

troisième année de son regne, comme on le voit par ses medailles. *Tillem. H. E. T. 3. p. 599. Brux.*

(e) *Vid. Pagi ann. 251. num. xxx. Bagnag. ann. 249. num. iii.*

Eutropius (*f*) and Victor (*g*) in his Cefars, say, he reigned two years : the other Victor (*h*) says, thirty months. He was born in Pannonia. And, as has been observed, he is the first of the many Roman Emperours, who were natives of Illyricum. His name, as inscribed upon (*i*) medals, is *Caius Messius Trajanus Decius*. He has a very good character in the Epitome of (*k*) Victor, and (*l*) Zosimus, Heathen authors. But he is little taken notice of by Christian writers, excepting upon account of his persecution. Some of their passages I shall transcribe, sufficient to afford my readers a general notion of it.

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II. The Author of the Deaths of Persecutors says, that (*m*) Decius began to persecute the Christians as soon as he began to reign. But he does not tell us what the edict was, nor the occasion of it.

*Accounts
of his Per-
secution.*

Eusebius writes to this purpose. " Philip (*n*) having reigned seven years, he was succeeded by Decius, who being an enemy to Philip, raised a persecution against the Churches. In which Fabian at Rome, having been perfected by martyrdom, he was succeeded by Cornelius in that bishoprick. In Palestine Alexander, Bishop of the church at Jerusalem, is again brought before the " Go-

(*f*) Post hos Decius, e Pannonia inferiore, Bubaliae natus, imperium sumpsit . . . Cum biennio ipse et filius ejus imperassent, uterque in Barbarico interfecti sunt, et inter Divos relati. *Eutrop. l. 9. cap. iv.*

(*g*) *Cap. 29.*

(*h*) Decius e Pannonia inferiore . . . imperavit menses triginta. Hic Decium filium suum Caesarem fecit: vir artibus cunctis virtutibusque instructus, placidus et communis domi: in armis promptissimus. *Vict. Epit. cap. 29.*

(*i*) *Vid. Noris. Ep. Syro-Maced. Diff. 3. cap. x. p. 344. 345. Lips.*

(*k*) *See note (h)*

(*l*) Δεκίω μὲν ἐν Ἀρῖσᾳ βασιλευκότεν τέλος τοιόνδε συνέθη. *Zos. l. i. p. 644. in.*

(*m*) Exstitit enim post annos plurimos execrabile animal Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam. Quis enim justitiam nisi malus persequatur? Et quasi hujus rei gratia provectus esset ad illud principale fastigium, furere protinus contra Deum coepit, ut protinus caderet. *De M. P. cap. 4.*

(*n*) *H. E. l. 6. cap. 39.*

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" Governour's tribunal at Cesarea for Christ's sake. And having
" made a second glorious confession is put in prison, being now ve-
" nerable for his age and grey hairs. Having died in prison, after a
" noble and illustrious confession before the Governour's tribunal, he
" was succeeded in the bishoprick of Jerusalem by Mazabanes. In like
" manner *Babylas* having died in prison at Antioch, after a public
" confession of the faith, was succeeded in that church by Fabius.
" How many, and how great sufferings *Origen* endured at that time,
" imprisonment, chains, fetters upon his legs, his feet stretched in
" the stocks to the fourth hole, for several days, menaces to burn
" him alive, and other torments, the judge all the while carefully
" endeavoring, that he might not dye under them, may be fully
" known from some letters writ by him."

Origen was then in the sixty-sixth or sixty-seventh year of his age. But neither his age, nor his learning, nor his many works, nor the greatnesse of his fame, secured him from a share in this trial. And *Alexander*, before-mentioned, Bishop of Jerusalem, was also a truly excellent and valuable man. They who desire to know more of him, may see his historie more at large in another (o) place. *Origen* survived that trial, being set at liberty, at the period of the persecution. But he died a few years after.

*A Perse-
cution at
Alexan-
dria be-
fore his
Edict.*

III. The begining of the *Decian* persecution (p) must be dated in the year 249. or the begining of 250. But there was a persecution raised against the Christians at Alexandria in the year 248. whilst other churches enjoyed great peace under the Emperour *Philip*. This persecution lasted a whole year, and was concluded by nothing but a sedition and disturbance among the Gentils themselves. Of this we have an account in the fragment of a letter of *Dionysius* to *Fabius*, Bishop of Antioch. That fragment is preserved in *Eusebius*,
and

(o) See *Credib.* Vol. 3. p. 64. &c.

(p) *Pagi ann.* 250. num. iii. iv. *Basnag.* ann. 249. ii. &c.

and as the account is authentic, as well as curious, I am induced to transcribe it here. "The (*q*) persecution with us, says he, had not
 "it's begining from the Imperial edict: but began a whole year
 "before. A southsayer and Poet, such as he was, stirred up the
 "multitude of the Gentils against us, exciting them to contend for
 "the superstition of their countrey. Being stirred up by him, and
 "having it in their power to do as they pleased, they thought, that
 "religion lay in nothing more than killing us. First of all they lay
 "hold of a man of great age, named *Metras*, requiring him to re-
 "peat some profane words. He not doing as they desired, they
 "laid many blows upon his body with clubs, and pricked him in
 "the face and eyes with sharp reeds, and then leading him into the
 "suburbs, they stoned him to death. After that dragging a faith-
 "full woman named *Quinta* to their idol-temple, they require her to
 "fall down, and worship it. But she refusing so to do, they tied her
 "feet, and dragged her through the city, which is paved with sharp
 "stones, and having dashed her against milstones, and scourged her,
 "they led her to the same place without the city, and stoned her.
 "They then broke into the houses of many pious men, robbing and
 "plundering them of what they had. If they found any thing va-
 "luable, that they kept for their own use. But lumber, and uten-
 "sils made of wood, they threw out in the streets: so that the city
 "looked, as if it had been taken by an enemy. However, many
 "of the brethren retired, and saved themselves by flight, *joyfully tak-*
 "*ing the spoiling of their goods*, like to those mentioned by Paul. *Heb. x.*
 "Nor do I yet know of more than one, that fell into their hands, *34.*
 "who has denied the Lord. Moreover at this time they laid hold
 "of an admirable virgin, of a great age, named *Apollonia*. They
 "struck her upon the cheeks, and beat out all her teeth. Then
 "lighting a fire without the city, they threatened to burn her alive,
 "unless she would joyn with them, in pronouncing certain profane
 "words.

(*q*) *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 41.*

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249.

“ words. But she begging a short respite, and being let loose, pre-
“ sently threw herself into the fire, and was consumed to ashes. *Se-*
“ *rapien* they seized in his own house, and having tortured him with
“ grievous torments, and broken all his limbs, they threw him
“ headlong from the upper part of his house. Nor had we, says this
“ Bishop of Alexandria, a safe passage any where, through high-
“ streets or narrow lanes, neither by night nor by day: but conti-
“ nually, and every where, the people were universally crying out:
“ *if any man refuse to pronounce such or such impious words, let him*
“ *be immediatly taken up, and thrown into the fire.* So things went
“ on for some time, till a sedition among themselves, and a civil
“ war, returned this cruelty upon them. We had then a short
“ breathing time. But presently news came of the end of that reign,
“ which had been favorable to us. And all were seized with fears
“ of an impending storm. Then came the edict, which was very
“ terrible, putting us in mind of what was foretold by the Lord,
“ *that if it were possible, they should seduce even the elect.*”

Matt.
xxiv. 24.

Dionysius proceeds to relate the consequences of the imperial edict at Alexandria, and other places in Egypt. Some were overcome by fears of suffering, and sacrificed. Others, (divers of which, are named by him,) patiently and courageously endured various kinds of death, under exquisite torture. But I transcribe nothing more here. But it is observable, that many Christians fell in the time of this Persecution. And when it was over, there were in many places disputes about the manner of receiving such as had lapsed, when they desired to be reconciled to the church.

That this
Persecu-
tion was
universal.

IV. Sulpicius Severus (r) calls the persecution under *Decius* the seventh persecution, as does (s) Jerome in his book of Ecclesiastical “ Writers,

(r) Mox Decio imperante, jam tum septimâ persecutione saevitum in Christianos. *S. Sev. l. 2. c. 32. al. 46.*

(s) Septima autem persecutione sub

Decio, quo tempore Babylae Antiochiae passus est, ductus Caesaream, et clausus in carcere ob confessionem Christi, martyrio coronatus. *De V. I. cap. 62.*

Writers, in the chapter of *Alexander* Bishop of Jerusalem. Orosius (t) also reckons Decius the seventh persecutor of the church, and says, "That by his cruel edicts he sent many of the saints to receive "crowns from Christ for the torments, which they endured." In (u) Augustin likewise it is the seventh persecution. There can be no doubt, but (x) it was universal, as it was ordered by an imperial edict.

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249.

(t) Idem continuo, in quo se etiam ob hoc Philippos interfecisse docuit, ad persequendos interficiendosque Christianos, septimus post Noronem, feralia disperfit edicta, plurimosque sanctorum ad coronas

Christi de suis cruciatibus misit. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 21.*

(u) *De Civ. Dei. l. 18. cap. 52.*

(x) *Vid. Basnag. ann. 250. num. iv. v.*



CHAP.

C H A P. XXXI.

The Emperour G A L L U S.

His Time, and that he was a Persecutor.

A. D.
251.

DECIUS was succeeded by GALLUS and VOLUSIAN near the end of the year 251. GALLUS is not mentioned among the persecuting princes by Sulpicius Severus, or Orosius, or Augustin, or the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors. Nevertheless he must have been a persecutor.

Says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie, “ Decius (a) being
 “ slain with his sons, when he had not yet compleated the second
 “ year of his reign, he was succeeded by *Gallus*, at which time died
 “ Origen in the seventieth year of his age. And *Dionysius* in his
 “ letter to Hermammon speaks thus of Gallus. But Gallus did not
 “ attend to the fate of Decius, nor consider what was his ruin.
 “ But stumbled upon the same stone, which lay before his eyes.
 “ When his empire was in a happy state, and all things succeeded ac-
 “ cording to his wishes, he (b) persecuted those truly holy men, who
 “ prayed to God for his health and prosperity. And with them
 “ drove

(a) *H. E. l. 7. cap. i.*(b) . . . τὰς ἱερὰς ἀνδρας τὰς περὶ τῆς εὐ-
 ρύνης αὐτῆ καὶ ὑγιείας πρεσβεύοντας πρὸς τὸνθεὸν ἤλασεν· ἐκὼν σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐδίωξε καὶ τὰς
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ προσευχάς. *Ibid. p. 250.*

“drove away those prayers, which they offered up for him. Thus
“he writes of Gallus.”

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251.

As there is little notice taken of this matter by ancient ecclesiastical writers, Pagi (c) argues, that this was only a local persecution, and that it was felt in few places, except Rome, where *Cornelius*, and afterwards *Lucius*, Bishops of that City, were banished by this Emperour. As the conduct of Gallus is so particularly mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria, I have been apt to think, that some Christians suffered in that city, or in the countreys near it. Mosheim's (d) observations upon this persecution may be consulted.

(c) *A. 252. num. x. xii. xvi. . . xxi.*

(d) *Flagrantibus his Christianorum certaminibus, Decius cum filiis anno cli. necabatur : in cujus locum Gallus cum filio Volusiano succedebat. Is sequenti anno bellum in Christianos, quod ultimis De-*

cii temporibus, remissius gestum erat, aut novis edictis propositis, aut antiquis renovatis, instaurari jubebat : unde multa iterum mala Christianis in variis orbis Romani provinciis subeunda erant. &c. De Reb. ante C. M. p. 527.



C H A P. XXXII.

The Emperours VALERIAN and GALLIEN.

- I. *Valerian's Time, and Character.* II. *General Accounts of his Persecution from several Christian Writers.* III. *How long it lasted.* IV. *Accounts of this Persecution from Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria.* V. *The Emperour Gallien's Edict, restoring Peace to the churches.* VI. *Farther Accounts of that Persecution from Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.* VII. *The remarkable Historie of Marinus, who suffered martyrdom at Cesarea in Palestine, after the publication of the fore-mentioned Edict of Gallien.*

A. D. 253.
Valerian's Time and Character. I. VALERIAN having enjoyed many offices and dignities in the State, with great applause, and (a) been highly celebrated for his prudence, modestie, gravity, and other virtues, was proclaimed Emperour in the year 253. And his son GALLIEN was taken into partnership with him in the same year. It is not needfull

(a) Trebell. Poll. in Valerian. cap. i. ii. p. 171. &c.

needfull for me to enlarge in his historie. But about the seventh year of his reign, in 259. or 260. at the latest, he was taken prisoner by *Sapor*, King of Persia: Where (*b*) he lived the remainder of his days in a miserable captivity.

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II. He is reckoned the eighth persecutor of the Christians by (*c*) Sulpicius Severus, (*d*) Orosius, (*e*) Augustin. The Author of the Deaths of Persecutors does not mention the number of persecutions. Nevertheless he speaks distinctly of this, and says, "that (*f*) Valerian shed the blood of many righteous men in a short time." As does Orosius likewise, and says that this persecution was universal, all over the Roman Empire.

*A general
account of
his Perse-
cution.*

III. The persecution began in the year 257. and ended in other parts of the Empire in 259. when Valerian was taken captive by the Persians: but at Alexandria it continued till the year 261. when Gallien overcame Macrian, in whose power Egypt had been till that time. Then Gallien sent the same favorable edicts to Alexandria, which had been sent before to several other parts of the Empire. Dionysius (*g*) speaks of this persecution having lasted *forty two months*, or three years and a half: which ought to be understood of Egypt only, not of the rest of the Empire. In that manner some difficul-

*How long
it lasted.*

(*b*) *Id. in Valerian. cap. 3. p. 178. &c. et Cecilius de M. Persecut. cap. v. Oros. l. 7. cap. 22. Euseb. Chron. p. 176.*

(*c*) *Inde Valerianus octavus sanctorum hostis. S. Sever. l. 2. cap. 32.*

(*d*) *Valerianus siquidem, mox ut arripuit imperium, octavus a Nerone, adigipertormenta Christianos ad idololatriam, abnegantesque interfici jussit, fuso per omnem Romani regni latitudinem sanctorum sanguine. Valerianus illico, nefarii auc-*

tor edicti a Sapore Persarum rege captus, Imperator populi Romani ignominiose apud Persas servitute consenuit. &c. Oros. l. 7. cap. 22.

(*e*) *De Civ. Dei. l. 18. cap. 52.*

(*f*) *Non multo post Valerianus quoque non dissimili furore correptus, impias manus in Deum intentavit, et multum, quamvis brevi tempore, justi sanguinis fudit. De M. P. cap. v.*

(*g*) *Ap. Euseb. l. 7. cap. x. in.*

A. D. 253. ties relating to this point are adjusted and cleared up by (b) Pagi, to whom I refer, and to (i) Basnage, who does not much differ from him.

*Accounts
of it from
Dionysius
Bishop of
Alexan-
dria.*

IV. Of this persecution we have some authentic accounts in Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyprian, and his deacon Pontius, all contemporaries, which therefore cannot but deserve our regard.

Says (k) Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie: "In the mean time Gallus being slain, when he had scarcely reigned two years, he was succeeded by Valerian, and his son Gallien. Here it will be worth the while to attend to what Dionysius says, in his letter to Hermammon. Concerning this too John had a revelation. For he says: *And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies. And power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.* It is wonderfull to observe, how both these things were fulfilled in Valerian. And it deserves to be considered, what he was before: how mild, and how kind he was to the men of God. For none of the Emperours before him were so favorable and benevolent to them: not even those (l) who are said to have been openly Christians: as he was in the begining of his reign; and his house was full of pious men, and was a church of God. But his master and the chief of the magicians of Egypt, [He means Macrian, presently afterwards mentioned by name.] persuaded him to alter his measures, telling him, that he ought to kill and persecute those men, who opposed and obstructed his incantations, and then he might be happy."

*Rev. xiii.
5.*

Soon after the arrival of Valerian's edict at Alexandria, before the end of the year 257. as (m) seems most probable, Dionysius was summoned

(b) *Ann.* 261. n. viii. et seqq.

(i) *Ann.* 257. num. iii.

(k) *H. E.* l. 7. cap. x.

(l) *Meaning, probably, Severus Alexander, and Philip.*

(m) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 257. n. iv. *Basnage.*

247. num. vi.

moned before Emilian, then Prefect of Egypt, of which he writes to this purpose in his letter to Germanus. " I (n) came to Emilian, says " he, not alone. I was attended by my fellow-presbyter, *Maximus* : " and also by *Faustus*, *Eusebius*, and *Chaeremon*, deacons, and a brother from Rome, who was then at *Alexandria*. Emilian did not " then say to me, You ought not to hold assemblies. For that was " needless. Nor was that his chief concern, but that we should not " be at all Christians. He therefore commanded me to forsake that " way of worship. For he thought, that if I would change my " mind, others would do so likewise. I answered, and as I apprehend, not improperly, though in short, *We ought to obey God, rather than men.* And I plainly and openly declared, that I worship " him, who alone is God, and no other : and that I could not alter " my mind, nor cease to be a Christian. After which he ordered " us to go to *Cephro*, a small village, near the desert. But it may " be worth the while to transcribe here the very words of both of " us from the public register. *When Dionysius, Faustus, Maximus, Marcellus, and Chaeremon, were brought in, Emilian the Prefect said : I have not only writ to you, but I have also by word of mouth represented to you the humanity of our Lords, the Emperours, which they shew to you. For they grant to you the privilege of living in safety, if you will turn to that which is agreeable to nature, and will worship the Gods, which are the preservers of their empire, and will forsake that which is contrarie to nature. What therefore do you say to this ? I hope you will not be ungratefull to their humanity : forasmuch as they endeavor to bring you to that which is right. Dionysius answered. All men do not worship all the Gods. But they worship such as they think to be Gods. We worship and adore the one God, maker of all things, who also has put the empire into the hands of the sacred and august Emperours Valerian and Gallien. Him we worship, and to him we continually pray, that he will*

M 2

" prolong

A. D.
253.Acts v.
29.(n) *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 7. cap. xi. p. 257.*

A. D.
253.

“prolong their empire in safety and prosperity. Emilian, the Governour, then said to them again: Who forbids you to worship him also, if he be God, together with them who are by nature Gods? For you are commanded to worship the Gods, particularly, those, whom all know to be Gods. Dionysius answered: We worship no other. Emilian, the Governour, then said to them: I see that you are both ungratefull, and insensible of our august Emperours lenity toward you. You therefore may not stay any longer in this city, but shall be sent into Libya, to a place called Cephro. For I have chosen that place for you, agreeably to the order of the august Emperours. Nor shall it be lawfull for you, or any others to hold assemblies, or to meet together in the places called cemeteries. If any one does not go to the place, which I have appointed, or is found in any assemblie, he brings danger upon himself: for a needfull observation will not be neglected. Depart therefore to the place, whither you are ordered. Nor could I, says Dionysius, obtain the delay of one day, though I was sick. At Cephro he had a large number of the faithfull with him, partly such as came thither from Alexandria, partly such as came from other places of Egypt. “And here, says he, God opened a door to us for preaching the word. At first the people of the place were rude, and ready to pelt us with stones: but afterwards, not a few of the Gentils, forsaking idols turned unto God. . . . And, as if for that purpose God had brought us to them, when we had fulfilled that ministration, he removed us. For Emilian, as if desirous to send us into some more uncomfortable place than Libya itself, gave orders for dispersing some others in several villages of Mareotis, and us he commanded to reside in the district of Colluthio, near the great road: that we might be the nearer at hand to be brought to Alexandria, if he should think fit.”

2 Cor. ii.
12.
Col. iv. 3.

1 Theff.
i. 9.
Acts xii.
25.

Afterwards. “Moreover, says (o) Eusebius, the same Dionysius
“ in

(o) Ibid. p. 260.

" in his letter to Domitius and Didymus writes again of the perse-
 " cution in this manner. It is needless to mention the names of all
 " our people that have suffered, since they are many, and most of
 " them unknown to you. It may suffice therefore to assure you,
 " that persons of both sexes, and of every age and condition, and
 " soldiers, and countrey-people, have been victorious in this com-
 " bat, and have been crowned, some by scourging, some by fire,
 " others by the sword. Nevertheless in all this space of time, some
 " there are, who do not yet appear to be acceptable to the Lord.
 " Me in particular he seems pleased to reserve for some other season,
 " according to the words of the Prophet: *In an acceptable time have*
 " *I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I accepted thee.* Then
 " after a few words intervening, he says: At present I have only with
 " me, *Caius* and *Peter*, deprived of the rest of the brethren. And
 " soon afterwards: Some have hid themselves in the city, that they
 " may privately visit the brethren: as *Maximus*, *Dioscorus*, *Demetri-*
 " *us*, and *Lucius*, Presbyters. For *Faustinus* and *Aquila*, being much
 " known, travel up and down in Egypt. The Deacons that survive
 " after those who have died of the plague, are *Faustus*, *Eusebius*,
 " *Chaeremon*. *Eusebius*, I say, whom God has qualified from the
 " begining, and furnished with great resolution and ability for ful-
 " filling the office of ministration to the Confessors in prison, and
 " for burying the bodies of the perfect and blessed Martyrs, not with-
 " out the utmost peril. For to this very day the Prefect does not
 " cease to treat our people in the most cruel manner, killing some,
 " and torturing others, and making others pine away in fetters and
 " dungeons: forbidding any to be admitted to them, and strictly in-
 " quiring likewise, whether his orders are obeyed. Notwithstanding
 " which, such is the courage and alacrity, with which God inspires
 " the brethren, the afflicted are not without the consolation suited to
 " their exigence. So writes Dionysius."

In these fragments of Dionysius's letters, which Eusebius has pre-
 served, and, as I think, judiciously inserted in his Ecclesiastical Hi-
 storie,

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If. xlix.
 8.

A. D.
253.

storie, we have valuable memoirs of Valerian's persecution. And we see not only the fortitude of those, who were perfected by martyrdom, but also the resolution and courage, the discretion, and the amiable and friendly tenderneſſe of the Christian brethren, in relieving and comforting each other, which are truly admirable and exemplarie.

In the chapter (p) next following Eusebius mentions three men, and a *Marcionite woman*, at Cesarea in Palestine, who in *Valerian's* persecution were condemned to wild-beasts, and were crowned with martyrdom.

*Gallien's
Edict,
giving
Peace
to the
Churches.*

V. Then in the next Chapter he writes to this purpose. "But (q) not long after Valerian being taken captive, and reduced to slavery by Barbarians, his son, who then reigned alone, acted more prudently in his empire. He immediately by edicts put a stop to the persecution against us, and gave command, that the Presidents of our religion should be at liberty to perform the usual offices of their function. The edict is to this purpose. *The Emperour, Cesar, Publius Licinius Gallienus, Pious, Happy, Augustus, to Dionysius, and Pinna, and Demetrius, and to the other Bishops. I have directed, that the favour of my indulgence, should be published throughout the whole world: that all may depart from the places of worship. You are therefore empowered to make use of this copie of my edict, that none may trouble you. And that you may perform what is lawful for you to do, has been already granted by me. And let Aurelius Cyrenius our High-Steward observe this edict now given by me.* This, says Eusebius, has been translated from the Roman tongue. There is also another edict of the same Emperour, sent to other Bishops, and appointing, *that the places called cemeteries should be restored.*"

In his (r) Chronicle likewise Eusebius observes, that Valerian being taken captive by the Persians, Gallien gave peace to the Churches.

VI.

(p) L. 7. cap. xii.

(q) Cap. xiii.

(r) Valeriano in Persas ducto, Gallienus nostris pacem reddidit. Chr. p. 176.

VI. I began with Dionysius, and have carried on the historie of Valerian's persecution from him. But as Cyprian suffered martyrdom in this persecution, dying on the 14. Sept. 258. and there are some authentic memoirs of his sufferings, I shall now allege some things from them also.

Cyprian seems to have been one of the first persons in Africa, who was called upon to make public confession in this persecution. And I therefore immediatly take the begining of the Proconsular Acts of his Passion, which I shall transcribe below in the original, and also translate literally. "*The (s) Emperour Valerian being Consul the fourth*
"time,

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*Accounts
of the same
Persecuti-
on from
Cyprian,
Bishop of
Carthage.*

(s) Imperatore Valeriano quartum, et Gallieno tertium Consulibus tertio Calendarum Septembrium, Carthagine in Secretario, Paternus Proconsul Cypriano Episcopo dixit: Sacratissimi Imperatores Valerianus et Gallienus, literas ad me dare dignati sunt, quibus praeceperunt, eos qui Romanam Religionem non colunt, debere Romanas caeremonias recognoscere. Exquisivi ergo de nomine tuo. Quid mihi respondes? Cyprianus Episcopus dixit: Christianus sum et Episcopus. Nullos alios deos novi, nisi unum et verum Deum, qui fecit coelum et terram, mare, et quae in eis sunt omnia. Huic Deo nos Christiani deservimus, hunc deprecamur diebus ac noctibus, pro vobis, et pro omnibus hominibus, et pro incolumitate ipsorum Imperatorum. Paternus Proconsul dixit: In hac ergo voluntate perseveras? Cyprianus Episcopus respondit: Bona voluntas, quae Deum novit, immutari non potest. Paternus Proconsul dixit: Poteris ergo secundum praecep-

tum Valeriani et Gallieni exul ad urbem Curubitanam proficisci? Cyprianus Episcopus dixit: Proficiscor. Paternus Proconsul dixit: Non solum de Episcopis, verum etiam de Presbyteris mihi scribere dignati sunt. Volo ergo scire ex te, qui sint Presbyteri, qui in hac civitate consistunt. Cyprianus Episcopus respondit: Legibus vestris bene atque utiliter censuistis, delatores non esse. Itaque detegi atque deferri a me non possunt: in civitatibus autem suis invenientur. Paternus Proconsul dixit: Ego hodie in hoc loco exquiro. Cyprianus dixit: Cum disciplina prohibeat, ut quis se ultro offerat, et tuae quoque censurae hoc displiceat, nec offerre seipsi possunt. Sed a te exquisiti invenientur. Paternus Proconsul dixit: A me invenientur. Et adjecit: Praeceperunt etiam, ne in aliquibus locis conciliabula fiant, nec coemeteria ingrediantur: Si quis itaque hoc tam salubre praeceptum non observaverit, capite plectetur. Cyprianus Episcopus respondit: Fac quod tibi

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“ time, and Gallien the third time, [that is the year of Christ 257.]
 “ on the thirtieth day of August, at Carthage, in the Secretarie’s Of-
 “ fice, Paternus the Proconsul said to Cyprian the Bishop: the most
 “ sacred Emperours, Valerian and Gallien, have vouchsafed to send to
 “ me a Letter, wherein they command, that they who do not observe the
 “ Roman Religion, should now perform the Roman rites. I therefore
 “ have made inquirie after you. What answer do you make to me?
 “ Cyprian the Bishop said: I am a Christian, and a Bishop. I know
 “ no other Gods, but the one true God, who made the heaven, and the
 “ earth, and the sea, and the things that are in them. This God we
 “ Christians serve, to whom we pray night and day, for you, and for
 “ all men, and for the safety of the Emperours themselves. Paternus
 “ the Proconsul said: And do you persist in this purpose? Cyprian the
 “ Bishop answered: A good purpose, agreeable to God, cannot be al-
 “ tered. Can you then according to the command of Valerian and Gal-
 “ lien, go an exile to the city Cucurbis? Cyprian said: I go. Paternus
 “ the Proconsul said: The Emperours have writ to me not concerning
 “ Bishops only, but also concerning Presbyters. I desire therefore to
 “ know of you, who are the Presbyters, that live in this city. Cypri-
 “ an the Bishop answered: By your own laws it has been wisely enact-
 “ ed, that informers should not be encouraged. Therefore they cannot
 “ be discovered and accused by me. But they will be found in their
 “ cities. Paternus the Proconsul said: I now inquire after those,
 “ who are in this place. Cyprian said: Since our religion forbids
 “ men to offer themselves to sufferings, and since it is contrarie to your
 “ own laws, they cannot offer themselves. But they may be found, if
 “ inquired after. Paternus the Proconsul said: They shall be found
 “ by me. And he added: The Emperours have also ordered, that no
 “ assemblies should be held in the cemeteries, and that none enter into
 “ those places. If therefore any one does not observe this wholesome

tibi praeceptum est. Tunc Paternus Pro-
 consul jussit beatum Cyprianum Episco-

pum in exilium deportari. *Acta Procon-
 sul. Pass. S. Cyprian. p. 11. 12.*

"command, he shall be put to death. Cyprian the Bishop answered:
 "Do as you are commanded. Then Paternus the Proconsul ordered,
 "that Cyprian the Bishop should be carried into exile."

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His Deacon *Pontius* accompanied him to the place of his exile, where he arrived on the thirteenth or fourteenth of September, in the same year, 257.

About the same time many others suffered in Africa, upon account of their profession of Christianity. For we have a letter of Cyprian (*t*) writ during the time of his being at Curubis, which is inscribed to *nine Bishops by name, and beside them, to others, Presbyters, Deacons, and the rest of the brethren in the mines, Martyrs of God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Lord.*

Whilst Cyprian continued at Curubis, Galerius Maximus (*u*) succeeded Paternus, as Proconsul of Africa. He recalled Cyprian from his banishment. Who then went to his gardens, or countrey-house, near Carthage, by orders, as it seems, of the Proconsul.

Moreover, as there were many uncertain reports in Africa, Cyprian (*x*) had sent to Rome, and received thence some intelligence, which

(*t*) *Ep. 76. al. 77.*

(*u*) Cumque diu ibidem moraretur, successit Aspasio Paterno Proconsuli Galerius Maximus Proconsul. *Act. Pass. p. 12.*

(*x*) Sciatis autem eos venisse, quos ad Urbem propter hoc miseram, ut quomodocunque de nobis rescriptum fuisset, exploratam sibi veritatem ad nos referant. Multa enim varia et incerta opinionibus ventilantur. Quae autem sunt in vero, ita se habent. Rescripsisse Valerianum ad senatum, ut Episcopi, et Presbyteri, et Diacones in continenti animadvertantur: Senatores vero, et viri egregii, et Equites

Romani, dignitate amissa, etiam bonis spolientur, et si ademptis facultatibus Christiani esse perseveraverint, capite quoque multentur: Matronae ademptis bonis in exilium relegentur: Caesariani quicunque vel prius confessi fuerant, vel nunc confessi fuerint, confiscentur, et vincti in Caesarianas possessiones descripti mittantur. Subjecit etiam Valerianus Imperator orationi suae exemplum literarum, quas ad praesides provinciarum de nobis fecit: quas literas quotidie speramus venire, stantes secundum fidei firmitatem ad passionis tolerantiam, et expectantes de ope et indulgentia Domini vitae aeternae

co-

A. D. 253. which might be relied upon, and was to this effect, " that the Em-
 perour Valerian had ordered by a Rescript sent to the Senate, that
 Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, should be put to death without de-
 lay, that Senators, and persons of quality and Roman Knights, should
 be deprived of their dignity, and their goods : If after that they
 persist in being Christians, they should be beheaded : that Ladies of
 quality should be deprived of their goods, and sent into exile : That
 the Emperour's freed-men, who have confessed, or shall hereafter
 confess, shall lose their goods, which are to be seised by the Treasurie :
 and that they be sent chained to the Emperour's estate, and that they
 be put in the list of slaves to work there. To his own Rescript the
 Emperour Valerian has subjoyned copies of letters to be sent to the
 Presidents of the provinces : which letters we daily expect, standing
 prepared for the trial, and hoping to obtain, through the divine aid
 and goodnesse, the crown of eternal life. We are also assured, that
 Xistus [the Bishop of Rome] was put to death in the cemeterie
 on the sixth day of August, and with him Quartus. We also
 learn, that the Prefects in the city are intent to execute the Em-
 perour's orders. And if any are brought before them, they are
 punished, and their goods confiscated. These things, says Cypri-
 an in this letter to Successus, I am desirous should be made known
 by you to my brethren, that all may be prepared for the combat,
 that now lies before us."

When those orders for the Governours of the provinces arrived at
 Carthage, is not certain : but very probably, before the end of Au-
 gust.

Gale-

coronam. Xistum autem in coemeterio
 animadversum sciatis, octavo iduum Au-
 gustarum die, et cum eodem Quartum.
 Sed et huic persecutioni quotidie insistent
 Praefecti in Urbe : ut si qui sibi oblatis fu-
 erint, animadvertantur, et bona eorum

fisco vindicentur. Haec peto per vos et
 Collegis nostris innotescant, ut ubique
 hortatu eorum possit fraternitas corrobo-
 rari, et ad agonem spiritalem praeparari.
 &c. Cypr. ep. 79. al. 80.

Galerius (y) Maximus the Proconsul, who had succeeded Paternus, was at Sexti, a place about six miles from Carthage, for the sake of his health. "On the 13. day of September, [A. C. 258.] an officer with soldiers was sent by the Proconsul to Cyprian's Gardens where he had been some while, to bring him before him. Cyprian's cause was deferred for that day. The next morning, the 14. of September, he was led to the Proconsul's palace, surrounded by a mixed multitude of people, and a strong guard of soldiers. "After some time the Proconsul came out into the hall, and Cyprian being set before him, he said: Are you Thascius Cyprian? Cyprian the Bishop answered: I am. Galerius Maximus the Proconsul said: The most sacred Emperours have commanded you to sacrifice. Cyprian the Bishop answered: I do not sacrifice. Galerius Maximus said: Be well advised. Cyprian the Bishop answered: Do as thou art commanded. In so just a cause there needs no consultation. The Proconsul having advised with his Council, spoke to Cyprian in angrie terms, as being an enemy to the Gods, and a seducer of the people. And then read

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N 2

"his

(y) Cumque diu ibidem moraretur, successit Aspasio Paterno Proconsuli Galerius Maximus Proconsul, qui sanctum Cyprianum episcopum ab exilio revocatum sibi iussit praesentari. Cumque Cyprianus sanctus .. de civitate Cucurbitana, in qua exilio praecepto Aspasii Paterni tunc Proconsulis datus fuerat, regressus esset, ex sacro praescripto in hortis suis manebat. . . . Et cum illic demoraretur, repente Idibus Septembris Tusco et Basso consulibus, venerunt ad eum principes duo, . . . qui et in curriculum eum leverunt, in medioque posuerunt, et in Sexti perduxerunt. Ubi idem Galerius Maximus Proconsul, bonae valetudinis recuperandae gratia secesserat. . . . Cumque oblatus fuisset, Galerius Maximus

Proconsul dixit: Tu Papam te sacrilegae mentis hominibus praebuidisti? Cyprianus Episcopus respondit: Ego. Galerius Maximus dixit: Jusserunt te sacratissimi Imperatores ceremoniari. Cyprianus Episcopus dixit: Non facio. Galerius Maximus ait: Consule tibi. Cyprianus Episcopus respondit: Fac quod tibi praeceptum est. In re tam justa nulla est consultatio. Galerius Maximus, collocutus cum consilio, sententiam vix aegre dixit verbis hujusmodi: Diu sacrilega mente vixisti, et plurimos nefariae tibi conspiracy homines aggregasti. . . Et his dictis, decretum ex tabella recitavit. Thassium Cyprianum gladio animadverti placet. Cyprianus Episcopus dixit, Deo gratias. Apost. p. 12. 13.

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" his sentence out of a tablet : It is decreed, that Thascius Cyprian be
" beheaded. Cyprian the Bishop said : God be praised."

That is the account in the Acts of his Passion, which I have translated literally. And *Pontius* (z) writes to the like purpose. *Cyprian* was then led away to the field of *Sexti*, a large level spot of ground, encompassed with trees, the boughs of which were then loaded with spectators. And in the presence of a great multitude of people *Cyprian* was there beheaded, according to the sentence pronounced upon him, on Sept. 14. in the year of Christ (a) 258.

Of *Marinus*, a
Martyr
at *Cesarea*.

VII. I have set before my readers some authentic memoirs of *Valerian's* persecution from *Dionysius* of Alexandria, and *Cyprian* of Carthage. There is another remarkable storie in *Eusebius*, which must not be omitted.

" In (b) the mean time, says *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, when peace had been restored to all the churches every where,
" *Marinus*, a militarie man, and eminent upon account of his birth
" and riches, suffered martyrdom for Christ at *Cesarea* in Palestine.
" A Centurion's place was vacant. He put up for that office, to
" which he had a claim by the order of his promotions. When he
" was about to receive that honour, another appeared before the
" tribunal, asserting, that according to the ancient laws of the Romans, *Marinus* could not be admitted into that office, forasmuch
" (c) as he was a Christian, and did not sacrifice to the Emperours :
" and that the Office did of right belong to him. *Achaeus* the judge,
" being much moved, asked *Marinus*, what was his sentiments.
" Per-

(z) *S. Cyprian Vit.* p. 9. 10.

(b) *L. 7. cap. xv.*

(a) If any are desirous to see the historie of this Bishop of Carthage, more at large, they may consult *The Credib. P. 2. Vol. iv.* p. 737. . . . 758.

(c) Χριστιανῶ γε ὄντι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μὴ θύοντι. *Ib.* p. 263. C.

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“ Perceiving, that he confidently affirmed he was a Christian, he
 “ allowed him the space of three hours to consider of the matter.
 “ When the three hours were expired, he returned to the tribunal.
 “ And when called upon again, to deliver his sentiments, he made
 “ a profession of the faith with greater chearfulness than before.
 “ Whereupon he was immediatly had out to be put to death, and
 “ so was perfected.”

Eusebius adds. “ Then (*d*) *Asturius*, who is still celebrated for
 “ religious zeal and courage, a Roman Senator, and in esteem with
 “ the Emperours, who was present at the death of the Martyr,
 “ taking up the body, laid it upon his shoulders, and covering it
 “ with a rich cloth carried it off, and interred him in a decent
 “ manner.”

Mr. *Mosheim's* (*e*) observations upon this remarkable historie are to
 this purpose. “ *Marinus* was not condemned by the edict of *Vale-*
 “ *rian*, which had been abrogated by *Gallien*, but by the ancient
 “ law of *Trajan*. For an accuser was received. The man who
 “ confessed himself to be a Christian, was required to renounce the
 “ faith. When he would not, he was without delay led out to pu-
 “ nishment. In (*f*) this instance therefore, it is apparent, that the
 “ ancient laws of the Emperours against the Christians, still retained
 “ their force, though milder laws had been enacted : And therefore
 “ under

(*d*) *Ibid. cap. 16.*(*e*) *De Reb. &c. p. 557.*

(*f*) Ex hoc igitur exemplo liquet, antiquas Imperatorum in Christianos leges, aliis etiam mitioribus latis, vim suam retinuisse, et Praefides propterea etiam sub clementibus Imperatoribus, pacisque temporibus, in Christianos accusatos et falsos animadvertere potuisse. Cadaver Ma-

rini Asturius, Senator Romanus, vir maximae auctoritatis, humeris suis auferebat, et sepulturae tradebat, idque faciebat impune ac sine periculo. Ratio in promptu est. Sine accusatore Judici non licebat punire ex Trajani lege. Tanti autem nominis et dignitatis virum, amicum praeterea Imperatorum, nemo accusare vel volebat, vel audebat. *Mosheim. ibid.*

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“ under mercifull Emperours, who were lovers of peace, the Pre-
 “ fidents might punish Christians, who were accused, and confessed
 “ themselves such. The body of *Marinus* was carried off by *Astu-*
 “ *rius*, a Roman Senator, and buried. Nor did he suffer for it.
 “ The reason is, that by *Trajan's* law the Judge had no right to
 “ punish any, but such as were accused. And there was no body
 “ who was willing, or who dared to accuse so considerable and ho-
 “ norable a man, as *Asturius* was.”



C H A P.

C H A P. XXXIII.

A M E L I U S.

I. *His Historie, and Time.* II. *His Testimonie to St. John's Gospel, with Remarks.*

I. **T**HE next testimonie will be the noted passage of AMELIUS, a Platonic Philosopher, fellow-disciple (a) and intimate acquaintance of Porphyrie, who wrote against the Christians. *Amelius*, as (b) Suidas says, was of Apamea. Porphyrie (c) in the Life of Plotinus calls him a Tuscan. But then he expressly says, that (d) when Plotinus died, Amelius was at Apamea in Syria. Which may give occasion to think, that he was originally of that place, though perhaps he was born in Tuscanie. Moreover

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Por-

(a) *Vid. Eunap. de Vita Porphyri. p. 19. 20.*

(b) Αμέλιος, Απαμεός, φιλόσοφος, μαθητής Πλωτίνου, διδάσκαλος Πορφύριου, συγγραφέας Αμμόνιου καὶ Ωριγένου. *Suid.*

(c) Εχε δὲ ἀκροατὰς μὲν πλείους· ζηλωτὰς δὲ καὶ διὰ φιλοσοφίαν συνόντας, Αμέλιον τε ἀπὸ τῆς Τυσκίας, ἃ τὸ ὄνομα ἦν Γεντιλιανὸς τὸ κύ-

ριον· αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὸ Ρ Αμέριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμερίας ἢ τῆς ἀμελείας πρέπειν αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαι λέγων. *Porph. de vita Plotin. cap. vii. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 4. p. 104.*

(d) Τελευτῶντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ Πορφύριος ἐτύγχανον ἐν Λιευθαίῳ διατρίβων, Αμέλιος δὲ ἐν Απαμείᾳ τῆς Συρίας. *Ib. cap. 2. p. 95.*

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Porphyrie mentions a book of his inscribed (e) to *Hesychius of Apamea*, whom he had adopted for his son. His proper name, as we also learn from Porphyrie, was *Gentilian*. And he chose to have his surname writ with an R, *Amerius*, as indeed it is in Eunapius, and not *Amelius*: the last, in Greek denoting negligence, the former, integrity. According to Porphyrie's account, he was the most (f) studious and laborious of all the disciples of Plotinus, with (m) whom he spent 24. years at Rome, from the third year of Philip to the first of Claudius, that is, from the year of Christ 246. to the begining of the year 269. Amelius (n) was a diligent observer of the sacred rites, which his master Plotinus regarded very little. I have placed Amelius at the year 263. because (o) Porphyrie intimates, that he published little or nothing before the tenth year of Gallien, when he had been eighteen years with Plotinus. This will suffice for his historie.

His Testimony to
St. John's
Gospel.

II. "Moreover, says Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical Preparation, "*Amelius* (p) a celebrated Philosopher among the moderns, and a "great

(e) ἡ Ἰουδία Ἡσυχίῳ τῷ Ἀπαμειῶνι, ὃν
ὕδου ἔθετα, κεχάρσισαι. *Ib. cap. 3. p. 98.*

(f) . . . φιλοπονία δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῶν
κατ' αὐτὸν πάντων. *Ib. cap. 3. p. 98.*

(m) Προήλθε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀμέλιος, τρίτον
ἔτος ἄγοντι ἐν Ρώμῃ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον τῆς Φιλίπ-
που βασιλείας ἔτος, καὶ ἄχρι τῆς πρώτης τῆς Κλαυ-
δίου βασιλείας παραμείνας, ἔτη ὅλα συγγέγο-
νεν ἑικοσι καὶ τέσσαρα. *Ibid.*

(n) Φιλοθύτε δὲ γεγονότος τῷ Ἀμελίῳ, καὶ
τὰ ἱερὰ κατὰ νεμεσίαν, καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἐκπεριίον-
τος, καὶ πότε ἀξιῶντος τοῦ Πλωτίνου, σὺν αὐτῷ
παραβαλεῖν, ἔφη· ἐκέλευς δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔρχεσθαι,
ἔκ ἐμὲ πρὸς ἐκένους. κ. λ. *Ibid. cap. x. III.*
112.

(o) *Ibid. cap. 4. p. 99. Et Conf. cap. 3.*
p. 98.

(p) Εικότως δὴτα καὶ τῶν νέων φιλοσόφων δι-
αφανῆς γεγωνὸς Ἀμέλιος, . . . εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπ' ὀνό-
ματος ἐξίωσε τῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ μνήμην
ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δ' ἐν ὁμῶς ταῖς αὐτῇ
φωναῖς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς ῥῆμα γράφων·
Καὶ ἔτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ
γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὥς αὖ καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώ-
σαι· καὶ νῦν Δί' ὃν ὁ Βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῆς
ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξία καθεστηκότα πρὸς Θεὸν
εἶναι· Δί' ἧς παύθ' ἀπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τὸ
γεγόμενον ζῶν καὶ ζῶν, καὶ ὃν πεφυκέναι· καὶ εἰς
σώματα πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον, φαν-
τάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον· μετὰ καὶ τῷ τῆνικαῦτα δε-
κνύειν

“ great admirer of the Platonic philosophie, though he has not men-
 “ tioned the Evangelist’s name, bears testimonie to his doctrine,
 “ saying, in these very words. And this, plainly, was the Word,
 “ by whom, he being himself eternal, were made all things that
 “ are, as Heraclitus also would say: and by Jove the same, whom
 “ the Barbarian affirms to have been in the place and dignity of a
 “ principle, and to be with God, and to be God: by whom all
 “ things were made, and in whom every thing that was made has
 “ it’s life and being. Who descending into body, and putting on
 “ flesh, took the form of man: though even then he gave proof of
 “ the Majesty of his nature: nay, and after his dissolution he was
 “ deified again, and is God, the same he was before he descended
 “ into body, and flesh, and man.”

I suppose, that all will agree with Eusebius, and other ancient Christian Writers, that by *the Barbarian* Amelius intended the Evangelist *John*, and that he here refers to his Gospel. He calls him *Barbarian*, because, though he wrote in Greek, that was not his native language, and he was of Jewish, or Hebrew extraction: or, as Cyril (*q*) expresseth it, he was a Hebrew of Hebrews, and not a Greek.

This passage of Amelius is a testimonie to St. John’s whole Gospel, which I think, he had read.

1. That he refers to the begining of St. John’s Gospel, is manifest. See Ch. i. 1...4. and ver. 14.

2dly.

ἐκινύειν τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνα-
 λυθέντα πάλιν ἀναθεῖσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, διὸς
 ἦν πρὸ τὸ εἰς σῶμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τὸν ἄν-
 θρώπου καταχθῆναι. Euseb. Pr. Ev. L.
 xi. cap. 19. p. 540.

(q) Βάρβαρον ἐν ᾧ γε οἶμαι, τὸν θεσπέσιον
 Ἰωάννην ἀποκαλεῖ, διάτοι τῆς γλώττης τάχα πε-
 τὸ ἑτερόθρον. Εβραῖος γὰρ ἦν ἐξ Εβραίων, καὶ ἐκ
 ἀπόγε τῆς Ἑλλήνων χάρας τε καὶ γῆς. Cyn.
 contr. Julian. l. 8. p. 283.

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2dly. He also says, that the Word, after he had descended into body, and had put on flesh, *even then he gave proof of the majesty of his nature*. Here Amelius must refer to the great works performed by our Lord, as related in the following parts of that Gospel.

3. Finally, Amelius says, that *after his dissolution, he was deified again, and was the same that he was before he descended into body*. Here, I think, he had in his eye, John xvii. 5. *And now, o Father, glorify thou me with thy own self, with the glorie, which I had with thee before the world was*. And ch. xvi. 5. *But now I go my way to him that sent me. And none of you asketh me, Whither goest thou?* Comp. ch. xiv. 4. . . 8. and xx. 17. and other places.

Upon the whole, I cannot but think, that Amelius had read over St. John's Gospel from the begining to the end.

This same passage is also quoted at length by (r) Cyril of Alexandria, in his Answer to the Emperour Julian.

It is likewise quoted by Theodoret in his work against the Gentils. He introduceth it in this manner. "Plutarch (s) also and Plotinus had heard of the sacred Gospels. This is apparent from "Amelius, who presided in the school of Porphyrie. For he greatly "admires the Proëm to John's Theologie, saying, in these very "words. *And this plainly was the Word*.

Here is some inaccuracy. *Amelius did not preside in the school of Porphyrie*. But he was an eminent man of the school of Plotinus, where Porphyrie was also in great repute.

Theodoret from this passage of Amelius concluded that *Plutarch and Plotinus were acquainted with our Gospels*. It is, I suppose, no more than a probable supposition. Theodoret might be hence led to

(r) Contr. Jul. l. 8. p. 283.

(s) Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων ὅτε Πλάταρχος καὶ ὁ Πλωτῖνος ὑπηκουσάτην. Δηλοῖ δὲ τὸτο σαφῶς ὁ Ἀμέλιος, τῆς Πορφυρίου

πρωτεύουσας διατριβῆς. Ὑπεράγεται γὰρ τὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου θεολογίας προόμιον, ἔτσι λέγων. κ. λ. Theod. Gr. Aff. Serm. 2. p. 500. Tom. 4.

to think as much of *Plutarch*. But we cannot affirm it. We see no proofs of it in his works. Nor can we certainly say, that *Plotinus* was acquainted with our Gospels, or had read them. But I suppose, it may be reckoned certain, that he had heard of the Christians, and had some knowledge of them. It is manifest from a passage of *Porphyrie* in his life of (t) *Plotinus*, which will be alleged in the chapter of *Porphyrie*.

And it may be reckoned somewhat remarkable, that from the school of *Plotinus* we have so many testimonies to Christianity. One of his disciples was *Porphyrie*, who wrote so learnedly and so bitterly against the Christians. *Amelius*, just quoted, who had read St. John's Gospel, was another of the same school. And *Longinus*, from whom we shall also have a testimonie, was well acquainted with those two disciples, and their master *Plotinus*. I think, it may be hence concluded, that the learned men of that time had some knowledge of the Christians. Their reading and considering the sacred books of the Christians, depended upon their inquisitiveness, and openness to conviction, in things of religion.

“ *Augustin* speaks of a Platonic Philosopher, who (u) greatly admired the beginning of St. John's Gospel, and said, *It deserved to be writ in letters of gold, and to be set up in the most conspicuous place in every Church.*” Whether that Platonic Philosopher was *Amelius*, or another, we cannot say certainly.

Basil, in a homilie upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel. *In the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, and the Word was God.* Says: “ I (x) have known many, who are aliens from the

O 2

“ word

(t) *Porphyr. de Vita Plotin. cap. xvi. p. 118. ubi supra.*

(u) . . . Quod initium sancti Evangelii, cui nomen est Secundum Joannem, quidam Platonicus, sicut a sancto sene Simpliciano, qui postea mediolanensis ecclesi-

ae praesedit episcopus, solebamus audire, aureis literis conscribendum, et per omnes ecclesias in locis eminentissimis proponendum esse dicebat. *De Civ. Dei. l. x. cap. 29.*

(x) Ταῦτα οἶδα πολλὰς καὶ τὰν ἕξω τῆς λό-

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“word of truth, and boast themselves of their worldly wisdom,
“who have admired this text, and have also dared to insert it in
“their own writings.” Basil does not name them. And therefore
we cannot say, who they were.

γὰρ τῆς ἀληθείας, μέγα φρονούντων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ
κοσμικῇ, καὶ θαυμάσαντας, καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συν-
τάγμασιν ἐγκοταμίξαι τολμήσαντας. Basil.

hom. 16. in Illud, In Principio erat Ver-
bum. Tom. 2. p. 134. A. B. Edit. Bened.
1722.



CHAP.

C H A P. XXXIV.

L O N G I N U S.

I. *His Time, and Character.* II. *His Testimonie to the Scriptures, with a curious Observation upon a Fragment ascribed to him.*

I. **S**A Y S Suidas: "*Longinus (a) Cassius*, a Philosopher, master
 " of Porphyrie the Philosopher, a man of great learning
 " and exact judgement in things of literature. He flourished in the
 " time of the Emperour Aurelian, by whom he was put to death,
 " as an accomplice with Zenobia, wife of Odenatus." After which
 Suidas mentions the titles of several of his works, and says, he wrote
 many others.

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*His Time,
and Cha-
racter.*

Longinus Cassius. He is generally called *Dionysius Longinus*.

Suidas says, he lived in the time of *Aurelian*, who did not begin
 to reign before the year of Christ 270. and by whom Longinus was
 put to death. Tanaquil Faber (b) says, that Suidas would have ex-
 pressed

(a) Λογγίνος ὁ Κάσσιος, φιλόσοφος, διδασ-
 κάλος Πορφύριου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, πολυμαθὴς καὶ κρι-
 τικὸς γενόμενος. Ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανῶν τοῦ Καί-
 σαρος, καὶ ἀνῆρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς συμπνεύς Ζηνο-
 βίαν, τῇ Ὀδυνάτῃ γυναικί. *Suid.*

(b) Tanaquilli Fabri notae ad Suidae
 testimonium. *Vid. Longin. ex editione
 Jac. Tollii.*

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pressed himself more accurately, if he had said, that *Longinus flourished under Gordian, Decius, Valerian, Gallien, and Claudius*. For, indeed, the reigns of most of the Roman Emperours about that time were very short. Tanaquil Faber adds: “and (c) therefore Longinus was contemporarie with Origen.” Which also is another just observation. Photius says, that (d) Longinus flourished in the time of *Claudius*, whose reign began in the year 268. I place him at the year of Christ 264. the twelfth of Gallien. For he did not dye before the year 273. And he could not then be young, as may be concluded from the number of his works. And he is always reckoned one of Porphyrie’s masters.

His father’s name is not known. “His (e) mother was *Frontonis*, sister of *Fronto*, of Emesa, the Orator, who was at Rome “ in the time of the Emperour Severus, and afterwards taught rhetoric at Athens: Where he died, when he was about sixty years “ of age, leaving (f) Longinus the Critic, his heir.” So says Suidas. Nevertheless Longinus did not lose his parents, whilst very young. They (g) accompanied him in his travels. As we learn from a letter of his to Marcellus, a part of which is preserved in Porphyrie’s Life of Plotinus: whom (h) he saw, and continued some while with *Ammonius*, and *Origen*: probably, meaning Ammonius Saccas, and our Origen, called Adamantius.

Learned men (i) are not agreed about the place of his nativity.

Some

(c) Itaque Origeni σύγχρονος fuit Longinus. *Fab. ibid.* And Longinus is reckoned by Porphyrie among the other Gentil writers, which had been read and studied by Origen. *Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 19. p. 220. C.*

(d) ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου δὲ ἔτος ἠκμαζε. *Phot. cod. 265. p. 1470.*

(e) *Suid. V. Φρόντων, Εμισσηνός.*

(f) Καὶ ἀδελφῆς Φρόντωνίδος παῖδα ὄντα Λογγῖνον τὸν κριτικὸν κληρονόμον κατέλιπεν. *Suid. ut supr.*

(g) . . . ἐς ἅπαντας μὲν ὑπῆρξεν ἰδεῖν ἡμῖν, διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων ἐπὶ πολλὰς τόπους ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐπιδημίαν. *De Vit. Plot. cap. 20. p. 127.*

(h) *Vid. ib. p. 128.*

(i) De patria Longini inter doctos multum

Some think, he was an Athenian. Others think it more likely, that he was born at Emesa in Syria: the place of his uncle's, and probably, of his mother's nativity. His connexions with Zenobia, to whom he was master in the Greek language, and privy-counsellor, are proofs of his being in that part of the world in the later part of his life. And (*k*) there is a letter of his writ to Porphyrie, when in Sicilie, desiring him to come to him in Phenicia. In his excellent remaining work, Of the Sublime, he (*l*) reckons himself among the Greeks. And so he might do, and be born in Syria: the people of that countrey being often called Greeks by ancient writers.

Eunapius says, “ that (*m*) Longinus was esteemed a living librarie, “ and walking Museum. He had a kind of established authority, “ to judge of ancient authors. If (*n*) any man presumed to remark “ upon an ancient author, his sentence was not allowed of, till the “ judgement of Longinus was known.” Porphyrie (*o*) and Zosimus (*p*) extol Longinus in the like manner.

I must add, that Longinus is quoted by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation, where (*q*) he calls him a writer of our time. By Photius (*r*), in the place before referred to, he is called Longinus the

tum disputatur. Sed mihi quidem placet J. Jonfii conjectura, qui eum Atheniensem censet fuisse. Z. Pearce *De Vita et Scriptis Longini*. p. 1.

(*k*) Αἰῶν γὰρ μετὰ τῆς Σικελίας κατέειναι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν φοινίκην. κ. λ. *Porph. de Vit. Plotin. cap. 19. p. 123.*

(*l*) . . . εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς Ἑλλήσιν ἐφετάι τι γινώσκων, κ. λ. *De Sublim. cap. xii. 6. p. 92. Tollii.*

(*m*) Λογγίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν ἑμφυχος, καὶ περιπατῶν μυσείον· καὶ κρίνειν γε τὰς παλαιὰς ἐπετέτακτο. *Eunap. de Vit. Porph. p. 16.*

(*n*) Καὶ εἰ τις κατέγνω τινὸς τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐ τὸ δοξασθὲν ἐκράτει πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἡ Λογγίνος πάντως ἐκράτει κρίσις. *Ib. p. 17.*

(*o*) *Porph. de Vit. Plotin. cap. 14. p. 116. Cap. 21. p. 135.*

(*p*) *Zos. lib. i. p. 659.*

(*q*) . . . τὰ παρὰ Λογγίνω τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς. *Pr. Ev. lib. 15. p. 822. Esc. Vid. et lib. x. cap. 3. p. 464.*

(*r*) Οὐ τὸ παρόμιον Λογγίνος μὲν ὁ κριτικὸς ἀγωνίσαικον νομίζει. *Cod. 265. p. 1470.*

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2^d 4.

the Critic. He is also mentioned by (s) Jerome, and (t) Theophylact: and with a view to his distinguishing excellence, his critical skill, upon whose judgement the sentences of all others depended. Not now to repeat any thing of Suidas. I take notice of this, as a proof of the taste, and candour of our Christian ancestors: among whom, as well as among others, a judgement according to Longinus was a proverbial expression, denoting a right judgement.

Zenobia, Queen of the Palmyrens, who also called herself *Queen of the East*, contended with the Roman Emperours after the death of her husband *Odenatus*, which happened in the year 267. In the end she was overcome, Palmyra was taken, and she also was taken prisoner. *Aurelian* then (u) sat in judgement upon her and her people in a place near the city Emesa. When (x) he determined to give Zenobia her life, and reserve her to do honour to his triumph. Many of her Officers and Counsellours were condemned to suffer death, and among them *Longinus*, who was supposed to have dictated a letter of Zenobia to Aurelian, writ, as the Emperour thought, in a haughty strain. It is manifest from *Vopiscus*, that this judgement of Aurelian was disliked by many. However, at this time Longinus shewed himself to be (y) not a Philologer only, but a

Phi-

(s) Criticum diceret esse Longinum, Censoremque Romanae facundiae. *Ad Rusticum* ep. 95. al. 4. p. 776.

(t) Μή μοι ἐν τὰς Λογγίνου κρίσεις περίεπ-
τε, μὴ καὶ δόξης τις ἐν αὐτοῖς γε εἰ κατὰ Λογ-
γίνου κρίναι. *Theophyl.* ep. xvii.

(u) . . . ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἐμισάν, εἰς κρί-
σιν ἤγαγε Ζηνοβίαν τε καὶ τὰς ταύτης συναρ-
μένους. *Zos.* l. i. p. 659. in.

(x) Ingens tamen militum strepitus mi-
litum fuit omnium, Zenobiam ad poe-
nam poscentium. Sed Aurelianus indig-
num existimans mulierem interimi, occi-

sis plerisque, quibus auctoribus illa bel-
lum moverat, paraverat, gesserat, trium-
pho mulierem reservavit, ut populi Roma-
ni esset ostentui. Grave inter eos qui cae-
si sunt, de Longino philosopho fuisse per-
hibetur, quo illa magistro usu esse ad
Graecas literas dicitur. Quem quidem
Aurelianus idcirco dicitur occidisse, quod
superbior illa epistola ipsius dictata consilio,
quamvis Syro esset sermone contexta.
Vopisc. *Aurelian.* cap. 30. p. 486.

(y) I allude to a passage in Porphyrie's
Life of Plotinus: ἀναγνωσθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ

τε

Philosopher, and so (x) died, as to comfort those who bewailed his fate.

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264.

II. I now proceed to observe some testimonies in the writings of this great critic.

His Testimonie to the Scriptures.

1. In his treatise of the Sublime, which we still have, but not compleat, he says. “So (a) the Lawgiver of the Jews, who was no ordinarie man, having formed a just sentiment concerning the power of the Deity, he also declared it in a suitable manner, thus writing in the begining of his laws: *God said: Let there be light, and there was light. Let the dry land appear, and it was so.*”

Undoubtedly, Longinus refers to the first chapter of the book of Genesis. And as he was convinced, that *Moses was no ordinarie man*, and openly declared his high opinion concerning him, it may be reckoned not unlikely, that he had read over his Pentateuch.

From this passage Casaubon in his notes upon Vopiscus argues, that (b) Longinus was a Christian, or much inclined to be so. But that does not appear. For Longinus (c) swears by the Gods, as other Heathens did. We have proofs of it in some of his fragments, undoubtedly genuine.

2. Beside this, there is a fragment of a work ascribed to him, which was first published by Dr. Hudson, and has been since repeated

τὸ τε περὶ ἀρχῶν Λογγίνου, καὶ τὸ Φιλαρχέου, φιλόλογος μὲν ἔφη ὁ Λογγίνος, φιλόσοφος δὲ Ἰδαμῶς. *De Vit. Plotin. cap. 14. p. 116.*

(x) *Zof. l. i. p. 659.*

(a) Ταῦτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, ἔχων ὁ τοχῶν ἀνὴρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τῷ Θεῷ δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνώρισε, κατέφηθεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων. Ἐῖπεν ὁ Θεός, φησὶ· Τί, γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο. *De Sublim. cap. ix. p. 60. Toll.*

(b) Extat hodieque Longini περὶ ὑψους libellus vere aureolus, ex quo semi-christianum fuisse, non male fortasse colligas, propter illud quod facit de Mosis scriptis iudicium. *Casaub. ad Vopisc. cap. 30. p. 486.*

(c) . . . ὥς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ. *Ep. ad Porph. De Vita Plotini. cap. 19. p. 122. Et inter Fragment. ap. Tollium. p. 250. Τί γὰρ ὡς πρὸς Θεῶν. Ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. 15. p. 823. et inter fragm. p. 254. Toll.*

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peated in the Bishop of Rochester's edition of Longinus. It is to this purpose.

" And (*d*) for a conclusion of this whole discourse concerning
" Greek Orators, and their manner of writing, I now just mention
" Demosthenes, Lyfias, Aeschines, Aristides, Isaeus, Timarchus,
" Isocrates, Demosthenes Crithinus, and Xenophon, to whom must
" be added Paul of Tarsus, of whom I may say, that he first ex-
" celled in an argument, which is not of the demonstrative kind."

This Fragment (*e*) was received by Dr. Hudson from L. A. Zaccagni, who transcribed it from a very good manuscript of the Gospels, preserved in the Vatican Librarie. But Fabricius (*f*) plainly declares his opinion concerning this last clause, relating to Paul of Tarsus, that it is not genuine. Nor have I any thing to say, in favour of it's genuineness. Probably, it was added by a Christian.

*A curious
Observa-
tion on
this Frag-
ment.*

3. However, I shall here insert some curious observations upon this fragment, ascribed to Longinus, in which a testimonie is given to St. Paul's abilities as an Orator. I have received them from the learned Mr. *James Merrick*, without any prohibition to publish them. And I believe, my readers will be pleased with seeing them here.

" I transmit to you, says Mr. *Merrick*, an observation commu-
" nicated to me in conversation some years since by a very ingeni-
" ous friend, which may deserve to be considered in any future dis-
" quisi-

(*d*) Κορωνίς δ' ἔστω λόγος πάντος καὶ φρονήματος Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσθένους, Λύσιας, Αἰσχίνης, Ἀριστίδης, Ἰσαίου, Τίμαρχος, Ἰσοκράτης, Δημοσθένους ὁ καὶ Κρίθινος, Ξενοφῶν, πρὸς τέτοις Παῦλος ὁ Ταρσεύς, ἂν τις καὶ πρῶτον φημι προῖσάμενον δόγματος ἀναποδείκτα. *Longini fragm.*
1. *apud Pearce. p. 259.*

(*e*) Hoc Longini de Rhetoribus testimonium exstat in praestantissimo codice Evangeliorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Urbinae, signato Num. 2. Quod mecum communicavit Laur. Alex. Zaccagnius. *Hudson.*

(*f*) Περὶ συνθέσεως λόγων. Lib. de sublimi oratione sect. 39. Longinus ipse testatur se de hac satis copiose tractasse in duobus commentariis. . . . Extat et similis argumenti liber inter Dionysii Halicarnassaei opera, de quo lib. 3. c. 32. Ex illis Longini petitum videtur testimonium de Rhetoribus, quod ex codice MSS. Vaticano Evangeliorum cum Hudsono Zaccagnius communicavit. . . . Postrema de Paulo Apostolo a Christiano homine adjecta sunt. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 31. T. 4. p. 445.*

“quisition concerning the authenticity of the Fragment. Δημοσθένης
 “ὁ καὶ Κρίθινος, is one of the Orators mentioned in it. By which
 “person my friend understood Dinarchus to be meant, alledging,
 “that a Commentator on Hermogenes (Syrianus, if I rightly re-
 “member,) affirms, that Dinarchus was called Δημοσθένης Κρίθινος,
 “which name, as the above-mentioned Gentleman supposed, was
 “designed to intimate, that the eloquence of Dinarchus bore the
 “same proportion to that of Demosthenes, that barley bears to
 “wheat. From this curious discovery, (for such it seems) made by
 “my learned friend, who also added, that *hordeacius Rhetor* occurs
 “in Suetonius de Illustr. Rhetor. cap. 2. I am inclined to draw this
 “conclusion, That we owe the words, Δημοσθένης ὁ καὶ Κρίθινος, if
 “they originally stood in the Fragment, of which I am speaking,
 “not to Longinus, but to some less knowing Critic, who having
 “somewhere met with Δημοσθένης Κρίθινος, was not aware, that it
 “was a name given to Dinarchus, but thought that it had belonged
 “to an Orator, whose real name was Demosthenes, and who was
 “also called Κρίθινος, in order to distinguish him from the more ce-
 “lebrated Orator of that name. If therefore we admit the Frag-
 “ment as genuine, we should, I imagine, read, Δείναρχος, ὁ καὶ
 “Δημοσθένης Κρίθινος.

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 264.

“P. S. Not having an opportunity of consulting the Comments
 “on Hermogenes, I have looked into Fabricius's Bibliotheca Grae-
 “ca, and find there Vol. 4. p. 434. Dinarchus mentioned in the
 “Index of Authors quoted by Hermogenes, and stiled *Hordeaceus*
 “*Demosthenes*. Again: in the same volume, p. 467. I find him
 “mentioned in the Index of Authors, taken notice of in the Com-
 “ments of Hermogenes (but placed by mistake after Diodorus) by
 “the title of κρίθινος Demosthenes.”

Whether this Fragment be rightly ascribed to Longinus, or not,
 these observations will be allowed to be curious.

C H A P. XXXV.

N U M E N I U S.

*His Testimonie to the Scriptures of the Old Testament.**His Time
uncertain.*

“ **N**UMENIUS, (a) of Apaméa, in Syria, says Suidas, a Py-
 “ thagorean Philosopher. This is the man, who charged
 “ Plato with stealing from the writings of Moses his sentiments con-
 “ cerning God, and the original of the world, saying: *What is Pla-*
 “ *to, but Moses in Greek?*”

The same saying is in Clement of Alexandria. “ And (b) Nu-
 “ menius, the Pythagorean Philosopher, writes expressly: *What is*
 “ *Plato, but Moses in Greek?*”

The same is also quoted from Clement by Eusebius in his (c) E-
 vangelical Preparation.

Eusebius, presently afterwards (d) quotes “ the first and the third
 “ book of Numenius, concerning What is Good: Where Numeni-
 “ us.

(a) Νεμίνιος, Απαμεδς, ἀπὸ Συρίας φι-
 λосоφος Πυθαγόρειος. Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν τῷ
 Πλάτωνος ἐξελέγξας διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐκ Μωσαϊ-
 κῶν τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ κόσμου γενέσεως ἀποσολή-
 σασαν, καὶ διὰ τὸτό φησι· τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων,
 ἢ Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων. Suid. V. Νεμίνιος.

(b) Clem. Str. l. i. p. 342. Par. p. 411.
 Οxon.

(c) L. 9. cap. vi. p. 411.

(d) Ib. cap. vii. et viii. p. 411.

“ us speaks of the rites and institutions of several nations, particu-
 “ larly the Brachmans, the Jews, the Magians, and the Egyptians :
 “ and mentions Jannes and Jambres, two sacred Egyptian Scribes,
 “ who, when the Jews were expelled Egypt, being reckoned very
 “ skilfull in the magical art, were by common consent (e) chosen to
 “ oppose *Musaeus*, [meaning Moses,] who was very powerfull in his
 “ prayers with God, that they might remove the calamities brought
 “ by him upon that countrey.”

Time un-
 certain.

Numenius is quoted several times by Origen in his books against Celsus. I shall take notice of those places by and by. He is also quoted twice or thrice by Theodoret. I do not recollect, that he is at all quoted by Augustin in any of his Works, nor by Cyril of Alexandria, in his answer to the Emperour Julian. Porphyrie, as quoted by (f) Eusebius, chargeth Origen with reading, and borrowing from Plato, and Numenius, and Cronius. Porphyrie says, that (g) the Commentaries of Severus, Cronius, Numenius, Gaius, and Atticus, Platonic Philosophers, were read in the school of Plotinus. He likewise says, in the same work, the Life of Plotinus, that (h) Amelius was very diligent in learning the opinions of Numenius, and out of them composed Commentaries of near an hundred books. Finally, Porphyrie in his book, *De Antro Nympharum*, quotes (i) Numenius, and his friend Cronius.

From Macrobius (k) we learn, that Numenius was reproached by
 some

(e) Μουσαίῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἰσθαίων ἐξηγησαμένῳ
 ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ Θεῷ ἐυξασθαι δυνατωτάτῳ.
Ibid.

(f) . . . συνῆν γὰρ ἀεὶ τῷ Πλάτῳ . . . τοῖς
 τε Νεμηνίῳ καὶ Κρονίῳ. *H. E. l. 6. cap. 19.*
p. 220.

(g) *De Vita Plotini. cap. xiv.*

(h) *Ibid. cap. iii.*

(i) Νεμηνίος καὶ ὁ τότε ἐταῖρος Κρόνιος. *De*
antro Nymph. p. 263. Vid. et p. 271.

(k) Numenio denique inter philosophos
 occultorum curiosiori offensam numinum,
 quod Eleusinia sacra interpretando vul-
 gaverit, somnia prodiderunt, visas sibi ip-
 sas Eleusianas Deas habitu meretricio an-
 te apertum lupanar ludere prostantes. &c.
Macrobius. Somnium Scip. l. i. cap. 2. p. 9.

Time un-
certain.

some with having divulged, or exposed the Eleusinian Mysteries : and to be avenged of him, *Ceres and Proserpina* appeared to him in a very strange manner.

We now return to Origen. Who quotes (l) the first book of Numenius the Pythagorean, concerning What is Good, or Concerning the Good : and (m) a book of his concerning the Immortality of the soul. And still once more, after this manner. “ I (n) know
“ also, that Numenius, a skilfull commentator upon Plato, and well
“ acquainted with the Pythagorean doctrines, in many places of his
“ writings has quoted the books of Moses and the Prophets, and has
“ allegorized them in no improbable manner : as in his book called
“ the Epops, and in his books concerning Numbers, and those con-
“ cerning Place. And in his third book concerning What is Good,
“ he relates a historie concerning Jesus, without mentioning his name,
“ and allegorizeth it : Whether rightly, or not, I do not now stay
“ to inquire. He also relates a historie concerning Moses, and Jan-
“ nes, and Jambres. Not that I think this a matter to be much
“ boasted of. Nevertheless we have more reason to be pleased with
“ him, than with Celsus, and other Greeks : forasmuch as he had
“ read our Scriptures, and candidly paid a regard to them, as no
“ contemptible writings, and worthie to be allegorized.”

To this passage of Origen there is a reference in Grotius Of the Truth of the Christian Religion, or in the notes upon him. Where
it

(l) *Contr. Cels.* l. i. p. 13. §. 15.

(m) *Ibid.* l. 5. p. 269. §. 57.

(n) Εγὼ δ' οἶδα καὶ Νυμνίου τὸν Πυθαγό-
ρειον . . . πολλαχῶς συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐκτι-
θέμενον τὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ οὐκ
ἀπιθάνως αὐτὰ τροπολογεῖντα, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ κα-
λυμένῳ Ἐποπῇ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Αριθμῶν, καὶ ἐν
τοῖς περὶ τόπων. Εὐ δὲ τρίτῳ περὶ τ' αγαθῶ
ἐκτίθεται καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἱστορίαν τινα, τὸ ὄνομα

αὐτῷ οὐ λέγων, καὶ τροπολογεῖ αὐτήν· πότερον
δ' ἐπιτετευγμένως, ἢ ἀποτετευγμένως, ἀλλὰ
καί τιν' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. . . . Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνῃ σέμνυ-
νόμεθα : ἀποδεχόμεθα δ' αὐτὸν μᾶλλον Κέλσῳ
καὶ ἄλλων Ελλήνων, βεληθέντα φιλομαθῶς καὶ τὰ
ἡμέτερα ἐξετάσαι, καὶ κινήντα ὡς πρὸς τροπολο-
γμένων, καὶ οὐ μωρῶν συγγραμμάτων. *Ib.* l.
4. p. 198. §. 51.

it is said; “ that (o) divers Heathen Authors have made mention of
 “ Jesus, as Suetonius, Tacitus, the younger Plinie, and many others.
 “ And Origen, in his fourth book against Celsus, lets us know, that
 “ in Numenius, the Pythagorean, there was a historie concerning
 “ Jesus.”

*Time un-
certain.*

Having now, as I think, paid a due regard to the quotations of Numenius, which are in our early Christian writers; I must take the liberty to say, that the time of Numenius is uncertain. And I cannot but doubt, whether he lived after the coming of our Saviour. Says Tillemont: “ It (p) is thought, that we ought to place
 “ about the time of Marcus Aurelius the celebrated Philosopher
 “ Numenius, of whom Eusebius and Theodoret have made great
 “ use in their arguments with the Heathens. Theodoret does in
 “ effect say, that he lived after Christ.” Nevertheless that manner of speaking seems to shew, that Tillemont hesitated. For Theodoret speaks plainly enough, if we could relye upon him, as accurate, and well informed. Having quoted Plotinus, he says: “ And (q)
 “ many other like things are said by him, and Plutarch, and Numenius, and others of that sect. For (r) these men living after
 “ the coming of our Saviour, have joyned many parts of the Christian Theologie with their own doctrines.” And Origen likewise in the place before referred to, speaks in this manner. First he quotes Chrysippus, and then adds: “ The (s) like things may be
 “ seen

(o) Testantur idem et Pagani . . . ut Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius junior, et post hos multi. Historiam quandam de Jesu etiam apud Numenium Pythagoricum extitisse, docet nos Origenes contra Celsum quarto. *Grot. de Verit. Rel. Chr. l. 2. §. ii.*

(p) . . . Theodoret dit en effet, qu'il a vécu après Jesus Christ. *L'Emp. Marc Aurele art. 31.*

(q) *Gr. Aff. l. 2. p. 500.*

(r) Μετὰ γὰρ δὴ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφάνειαν οὗτοι γενόμενοι, τῆς Χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας πολλὰ τοῖς αἰκείαις ἀνέμιζαν λόγοις. *Ibid.*

(s) Ἡ δὲ δὴ καὶ παρὰ τισι τῶν νεωτέρων, καὶ χθὲς καὶ πρῶτον γεγενημένων. *Ut supr. l. 5. §. 57.*

Time un-
certain.

“ seen in the later Philosophers, who lived not long ago, as Plutarch, and Numenius in his second book of the Immortality of the Soul.”

J. Tollius in his notes upon a Fragment of Longinus, where Numenius is mentioned, supposeth, he lived in the times of the (*) Antonins. And Jonsius likewise thought it probable, that (*) Numenius flourished in the time of Antonin the Pious. And indeed it is easie to shew, as Jonsius has done, that Numenius lived before Origen, and some others, who read him, or have quoted him. But I do not perceive any marks of his real time alleged from any.

I therefore am still in suspense. It is, I think, remarkable, that Suidas, who tells us in whose reigns lived *Plutarch*, and *Dion Cassius*, and *Dion Chrysostom*, and *Aristides*, and *Numenius the Orator*, and many others, says nothing of that kind of *Numenius the Philosopher*. He knew, that he was of Apamea in Syria: but does not mention the name of the Emperour, in whose time he lived. And Numenius, as we have seen, is often joyned with *Plato*, and *Cronius*. But the time of *Cronius* is uncertain, so far as I know. Nor have I observed any thing in the quotations of the works of Numenius, made by Eusebius, or others, that can determine his age. For any thing that is observable in those quotations he might live, when Gentilism was at it's height, and in all it's splendour. He was acquainted with the writings of *Moses and the Prophets*. But I discern not any references to the Scriptures of the New Testament. That historie concerning *Jesus*, which Numenius had allegorized, as Origen says, *without naming him*, may have been somewhat different from what has been generally apprehended. Perhaps it related to *Joshua*,
successor

(*) Floruit sub Antonino et Vero, Apamea Syriae oriundus . . . Hujus dicebatur Plotinus scripta compilasse. Defendit autem Plotinum Amelius libro De Differentia Doctrinae Plotini et Numenii, quem Porphyrio inscripsit: ut est apud

Porphyrium in Vita Plotini. Toll. in Longin. p. 248.

(*) Si conjecturae haec res committenda, sub Antonino Pio Numenium floruisse dixerim. J. Jons. de Scriptorib. Hist. Philosoph. l. 3. cap. x. p. 264.

successor of Moses in the government of the people of Israel. For if that historie had related to the Lord Jesus, it might be expected, that we should see it repeated over again in Eusebius, or Theodoret, or some other writer, since Origen. After all, as I apprehend, such a reference as that in Origen, is of little importance. He has not quoted the passage: nor so much as hinted what was the subject of the historie.

I could not omit *Numenius*, as he has quoted *Moses and the Prophets*, and allegorized some part of their writings. But I know not when he lived. I put him down here, being desirous to joyn him with *Amelius*, and *Longinus*, two learned critics and Philosophers. *Numenius*, as we learn from Origen, made use of *Moses and the Prophets*, and allegorized some parts of them. If he had lived after the publication of the books of the New Testament, it is reasonable to believe, that he would have made use of them likewise. As it does not appear, that he took any notice of them, it seems to me probable, that he lived before the rise of the Christian Religion.



C H A P. XXXVI.

The Emperour A U R E L I A N.

- I. *His Time and Character.* II. *How the Christians are mentioned by Him in a Letter to the Senate of Rome.* III. *His conduct toward Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch.* IV. *His Persecution of the Christians.*

A. D.
270.

*His Time,
and Character.*

I. A U R E L I A N, (*a*) a man of mean original, but of a severe disposition, and a great captain, having performed good services in the times of *Valerian*, *Gallien*, and *Claudius* the second, was, after the death of this last, proclaimed Emperour in the year 270. and died in 275. Some have ascribed to him a reign of six years. But now it is the opinion of the best chronologers, that (*b*) he did not compleat his fifth year, and died after he had reigned four years and four months, and some days.

II.

(*a*) Aurelianus, modicis ortus parentibus, a prima aetate ingenio vivacissimus, &c. *Vopisc. Aurelian. cap. 4. p. 420.*

(*b*) *Vid. Pagi ann. 275. num. ii. iii. Basn. ann. 270. num. vi.*

II. *Flavius Vopiscus*, of *Syracuse*, is the sixth and last of the Augustan Writers, but not the worst of them. For he is generally reckoned as learned a man, and as regular an historian as any of them. *How he mentions the Christians.*

In his *Life of the Emperour Aurelian* he makes mention of a letter of his to the Senate of Rome, writ, probably, in the beginning of his reign in the year 270. or (c) 271. upon occasion of an incursion made into *Italie* by some people of *Germanie*.

“ There (d) is, says *Vopiscus*, a letter of *Aurelian* concerning the
 “ *Sibyllin Books*, which I insert here, to confirm the account,
 “ which I have given. *I wonder, that You, Holy Fathers, have so*
 “ *long hesitated about opening the Sibyllin books: just as if your consul-*
 “ *tations were held in some church of the Christians, and not in the*
 “ *temple of all the Gods.*”

The meaning of the Emperour (e) is very evident. The Christians were reckoned a profane and atheistical sort of men, without temples, without rites and ceremonies, or however averse to all the rites of the public establishment. The Emperour tells the Senate, that they were as backward to open those books, which should inform them, what sacrifices ought to be offered up for the good of the publick, as if they were so many Christians met together, who were averse to all sacrifices, and not the Roman Senate, sitting in the temple of all the Gods, the very place of whose assemblie admonished them of their duty, to take in the direction and assistance of the Gods in this difficult conjuncture.

Q 2

This

(c) *Vid. Bosnag. ann. 291. num. ii.*

(d) Est epistola Aureliani de libris Sibyllinis. Nam ipsam quoque indidi ad fidem rerum. Miror vos, Patres Sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse libris, proinde quasi in Christianorum ec-

clesia, non in templo deorum omnium tractaretis. *Vopisc. Aurelian. cap. 20. p. 463.*

(e) *Vid. annot. in Vopisci loc. et Bosnag. ann. 271. num. ii. et ante Dom. 4. num. x. xi.*

A. D.
270.

This passage affords a good argument, that the true Sibyllin books, which were in the hands of the Romans, and were still made use of by them, were full of Heathen superstition, and not agreeable to the Christian doctrine or worship, as some have supposed. This is manifest from the whole context before and after this letter of *Aurelian*. There are divers other proofs of it, occurring in the Lives of the Roman Emperours, writ by these Augustan Historians, particularly, in the (*f*) Life of *Gordian* the Third, writ by *Julius Capitolinus*, and in (*g*) the Life of *Gallien*, writ by *Trebellius Pollio*.

But that is not now our principal concern. The design of alleging this passage is to shew, that *Vopiscus* the Augustan Writer, and the Emperour *Aurelian*, were not unacquainted with the Christians and their principles.

However, there is another thing, which may be observed here: That this passage may lead us to think, *Aurelian* was not free from superstition. And there are some other things said of him, which may concur to support this supposition. For his mother (*b*) is said by *Vopiscus* to have been priestesse of the temple of the Sun, which was in the place, where his parents dwelled. And this her son appears also to have had a peculiar respect for that Deity. This is an observation for which I am indebted (*i*) to Mr. *Mosheim*. And I have

(*f*) Fuit terrae motus eousque gravis imperante Gordiano, ut civitates etiam terrae hiatu cum populis deperirent: ob quae sacrificia per totam urbem, totumque orbem terrarum ingentia celebrata sunt. Et Cordus quidem dicit, inspectis libris Sibyllinis, celebratisque omnibus, quae illic iussa videbantur, mundanum malum esse sedatum. *Jul. Capit. Gordian. cap. iii. 22. p. 118.*

(*g*) Pax igitur Deum quaesita, inspectis Sibyllae libris, factumque Jovi Saluta-

ri, ut praeceptum fuerat, sacrificium. *Treb. Poll. Gallien. cap. 5. p. 198.*

(*b*) Matrem quidem ejus Callicrates Tyrius, Graecorum longe doctissimus scriptor, sacerdotem templi Solis, in eo vico, in quo habitabant parentes, fuisse dicit. &c. *Vopisc. Aurelian. cap. 4. p. 420.*

(*i*) Vix eo inter Imperatores, ante Constantinum M. quisquam supersticiosior, Deorumque commentitiosorum studiosior. Mater ejus sacerdos fuerat solis: . . et fili-

us.

have brought it in here for the sake of some things, which may follow hereafter.

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III. For there are some other things concerning this Emperour in Christian writers, which must now be taken notice of.

His Conduct to-ward Paul of Samosata.

Paul of Samosata, Bishop of *Antioch*, was deposed by the second Council held in that city upon his account, in (k) the year 269. and *Domnus* was appointed in his room. But *Paul* being supported by *Zenobia*, kept his seat for some time after that, till near the end of the year 272. or the beginning of 273. when *Aurelian* was master of *Antioch*. “*Paul* (l) therefore, says *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical
“*Historie*, having fallen from the faith, and from the episcopate,
“*Domnus* took upon him the care of the church of *Antioch*. But
“when *Paul* refused to leave the house of the church, a petition
“was presented to the Emperour *Aurelian*, and he rightly deter-
“mined the matter, giving orders, that the house should be deli-
“vered to them, to whom the Bishops of the Christian Religion
“in *Italie* and *Rome* should write. Thus, as *Eusebius* adds, the
“forementioned person was with great disgrace thrust out of the
“Church by the secular power.”

IV. Upon that historie, and particularly upon that passage of *Eusebius*, divers remarks were made formerly (m) which need not to be repeated here. I proceed to the only thing farther to be observed

His Persecution of the Christians.

con-

us idcirco solem summi Numinis loco per totam vitam venerabatur. Orationem, qua Valeriano de honoribus ab eo acceptis gratias egit, his verbis claudit: Dii faciant, et Deus certus Sol, ut et Senatus de me sic judicet. &c. &c. *Moshem. ut supr. p. 559.*

(k) See the *Credibility. &c. P. 2. Vol. 4. p. 620. &c.*

(l) *H. E. l. 7. cap. 30. p. 282. D.*

(m) See the *Credib. as before, p. 623. . . 627.*

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concerning *Aurelian*, that by divers Christian Authors he is reckoned among the persecutors of the Church. Sulpicius Severus quite omits him, in his catalogue. Nevertheless Eusebius, presently after the place just cited, adds. "Thus (*n*) was *Aurelian* affected toward us at that time, but in the farther advances of his empire, his mind was altered toward us, owing to the advices of some men about him, so that he raised a persecution against us. Much discourse there was every where about it. But the divine justice arrested him, when he was just signing the edicts against us: so, as it were, holding his hand, that he should not perform what he had designed: and thereby manifesting to all men, that the princes of this world can do nothing against the churches of Christ, but when God allows it for our correction and amendment."

In Jerome's Latin edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius it is said, "that (*o*) when *Aurelian* had raised a persecution against us, he was terrified by lightening that fell near him and his companions, and soon after he was slain between Constantinople and Heraclea."

Orosius (*p*) speaks much to the like purpose, and makes this the ninth persecution.

The Author Of the Deaths of Persecutors, says, "that (*q*) though
" *Au-*

(*n*) *H. E. l. 7. cap. 30. p. 283. B.*

(*o*) Aurelianus quum adversum nos persecutionem movisset, fulmen juxta eum comitesque ejus ruit: ac non multo post inter Constantinopolim et Heracliam in Coenophrurio viae veteris occiditur. *Chr. p. 177.*

(*p*) Novissime, cum persecutionem adversus Christianos agi, nonus a Nerone decerneret, fulmen ante eum magno pavore circumstantium ruit, ac non multo post in itinere occisus est. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 23.*

(*q*) Aurelianus, qui esset naturâ vaes-

nus et praeceps, quamvis captivitatem Valeriani meminisset, tamen oblitus sceleris ejus et poenae, iram Dei crudelibus factis laceffivit. Verum illi ne perficere quidem quae cogitaverat licuit, sed protinus inter initia sui furoris extinctus est. Nondum ad provincias ultiores cruenta scripta pervenerant, et jam Coenofrurio, qui locus est Thraciae, cruentus ipse humi jacebat, falsa quadam suspitione ab amicis suis interemptus. *De M. P. cap. vi. Conf. Eutrop. l. 9. cap. xv. et Victor. Epit. cap. 35.*

“*Aurelian* was not ignorant of *Valerian's* captivity, yet as if he had forgot his guilt and punishment, he provoked the anger of God by his cruel proceedings. However, he was not able to finish what he designed, but perished in the beginnings of his fury. And before his cruel edicts had reached the more distant provinces, he was slain at a place in Thrace.”

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Augustin (*r*) expressly mentions this among the other Heathen persecutions of the Christians, and reckons it the ninth.

Mr. Dodwell (*s*) supposeth, that *Aurelian's* persecution was only intended, and not put in execution. And indeed Eusebius has so expressed himself about this matter in his Ecclesiastical Historie, as has occasioned some learned men to hesitate about it. But upon more carefully examining his words, and observing the accounts of other Authors, learned men (*t*) have generally, and, as I think, very judiciously, determined, that *Aurelian* not only intended, but did actually persecute. But his persecution was short, he having died soon after the publication of his edicts.

Mr. Mosheim is of opinion, that many Christians did not suffer at this time. But (*u*) considering *Aurelian's* cruel temper, and how much he was addicted to the superstitions of Gentilism, he thinks, that if he had lived, his persecution would have exceeded all the former persecutions in severity.

The

(*r*) . . . Ab Aureliano nonam. *De Civ. Dei. l. 18. cap. 52.*

(*s*) Intentata enim duntaxat erat ab Aureliano, non item executioni mandata. *De Paucitate M. §. lxiv. in.*

(*t*) Non intentatam modo, sed executioni quoque brevissimo tempore mandatam, nobis est infixum in animo. &c. *Basnag. ann. 275. n. ii. Et conf. Pagi ann. 272. n. iv. . . xii. et 273. ii.*

(*u*) Aurelianus, qui Claudium excipi-

ebat, A. cclxx. etsi Diis immodice serviens, et inique de Christianis sentiens, nihil tamen in eos noxium per quadriennium moliebatur. Quinto vero imperii anno, sive propria superstitione, sive aliena motus, bellum in eos parabat. Quod si vixisset, ut crudelis erat, ferocisque ingenii, Deorumque amicis et sacerdotibusque obnoxius, praeteritis atrocius futurum fuisset, &c. *Mosh. De Reb. &c. p. 558.*

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The Author of the Deaths of Persecutors before cited, says, that *Aurelian* provoked God by his *cruel proceedings*, and calls his *edict cruel*, or bloody, *cruenta scripta*. Possibly, that Author, who did not live very long after *Aurelian*, had seen some copies of his edicts. If so, I wish he had inserted in his volume one of them, or only the substance of them. It would have been esteemed very curious by some in our times. By such neglects, and such want of accuracy, we suffer greatly.



C H A P.

C H A P. XXXVII.

P O R P H Y R I E.

- I. *His Time, and Historie, and Works.* II. *A passage, from Eusebius, of Porphyrie in his third Book against the Christians, concerning Origen, with Remarks.* III. *Porphyrie's Objections against the Book of Daniel, in the twelfth Book of his Work against the Christians, extracted from Jerome's Commentarie upon the Book of Daniel.* IV. *Remarks upon those Objections, and upon the Answers made to them.* V. *Passages of Porphyrie in the fourth Book of his Work against the Christians, where he acknowledgeth the great Antiquity of Moses.* VI. *An Objection of Porphyrie against the prohibition to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Gen. iii. 5.* VII. *Passages of Porphyrie, containing Quotations of the Books of the N. T.* VIII. *A Review of his Testimony to the Scriptures of the O. and N. T.* IX. *Passages of Porphyrie*

phyrie concerning the Christian Religion, and the Affairs of Christians. X. Of the Work ascribed to Porphyrie, and entitled, the Philosophie from Oracles.

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*His Time,
and
Works.*

I. **I** HAVE already observed several things relating to P O R P H Y R I E in the introduction to the chapter of *Celsus*: where is a general account of all such Heathen Authors as had writ against the Christians.

Porphyrie's historie may be collected from his Life, writ by Eupapius, and from the Life of Plotinus writ by himself. However, I refer (a) also to divers learned moderns, who ought to be consulted by such as are inquisitive.

Porphyrie was born at Tyre in Phenicia, as we are assured by (b) himself, and (c) by *Libanius* and (d) *Eunapius*, who also says, that he was descended from honorable ancestors. It is computed, that he was born in the twelfth year of Alexander Severus, of Christ 233.

His (e) original name was *Meleck*, which in the Syriac language signifies

(a) *Vid. Suid. Voss. de Hist. Graecis. l. 2. cap. 16. Luc. Holsten. de Vit. et Scriptis Porphyrii. Cav. Hist. Lit. Pagi in Baron. Ann. 262. iv. 263. iii. iv. et alibi. Basnag. ann. 278. n. iii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 27. Tom. 4. p. 180. &c. Tillet. Diocletien. art. 28. . . . 31. Hist. des Emp. Tom. 4.*

(b) Εσχέ δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ Πορφύριον Τύριον ὄντα, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐταῖρον. *Porphy. Vit. Plotin. cap. vii. p. 107. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 4. p. 107.*

(c) Πορφύριον Τύρος μὲν ἦν πατεὶς ἢ πρώτη τῶν ἀρχαίων Φοινίκων ἡ πόλις· καὶ πατέρες δὲ οὐκ ἄσημοι. *Eunap. p. 16.*

(d) . . . τὴν Τυρίαν γένουτος. *Liban. ap. Socrat. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. p. 196.*

(e) Μαλχος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σύρων πόλιν ὁ Πορφύριος ἐκαλεῖτο τὰ πρῶτα. Τῆτο δὲ δύναιται βασιλέα λέγειν. Πορφύριον δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνόμασε Δογγῖνος, εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τῆς ἐσθῆτος παράσημον τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτρέψας. *Eunap. ib. p. 16.*

signifies *King*, and with a Latin termination is *Malchus*. And sometimes he was called in Greek βασιλεὺς *King*. Longinus, under whom he studied some time, changed his name into *Porphyrie*, signifying in Greek Purple, which was usually worn by kings and princes.

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He was at Rome in the year 253. but made no long stay there. He came thither again in the tenth year of the Emperour Gallienus, when he was thirty years of age, as he says (*) himself. As the tenth year of that Emperour answers to the year of our Lord 262. or 263. it is concluded, that Porphyrie was born in the year of Christ 233. At that time Plotinus had a school at Rome. And Porphyrie being much taken with him spent there (f) six years under his instructions. At the end of which term, as (g) he says himself, he had a strong propensity to put an end to his own life. Plotinus perceiving it, told him, that thought did not proceed from reason, but from a melancholic disorder, and advised him to leave the City. Whereupon in the year 268. he went into Sicilie, where (h) he was in the second year of the Emperour Claudius, in the year 270. when Plotinus died in Campania.

How long he staid in Sicilie, is not certain. But Eunapius says, he (i) afterwards returned to Rome, where he acquired great fame for his learning and eloquence. Eunapius says likewise, that (k) he lived to a great age. And Porphyrie (l) himself in his life of Plotinus mentions something, which happened to him in the sixty-eighth year of his age: at which time, probably, he was about seventy years old. There can therefore be no reason to doubt, that he reached to the later part of the reign of Diocletian, and died, as

R 2

may

(*) *Vid. Plotin. cap. 4. p. 99.*

(f) *Cap. v. p. 101.*

(g) *Ib. cap. xi. p. 113. Conf. Eunap. p.*

17.

(h) *Porph. de Vita Plotini. cap. 2. 6. 7. p. 21.*

(i) *Αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην ἐπανῆλθε,*

καὶ τῆς περὶ λόγους ἔχετο σπουδῆς, ὥς παρήει,
καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον κατ' ἐπίδειξιν. *Eunap.*
Porph. p. 19.

(k) *Φαίνεται δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς γῆρας βαθύ.*

(l) *De Vita Plotin. cap. 23.*

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may be supposed, in the year of Christ 202. or 203. Eunapius supposeth, that (*m*) he ended his days at Rome. Suidas says truly, but without much accuracie, that (*n*) he lived in the time of Aurelian, and reached to the Emperour Diocletian. Nor is Eunapius much more exact, who speaking of Porphyrie, and some others, says, they (*o*) flourished in the times of Galienus, Claudius, Tacitus, Aurelian, and Probus.

Porphyrie, as Eunapius (*p*) assures us, had a wife, named *Marcella*, a widow, with five children, to whom he inscribed one of his books: in which he says, he married her, not for the sake of having children by her himself, but that he might educate the children, which she had by her former husband, who was his friend. Which shewed a virtuous and generous disposition. Nor indeed do we meet with any reflections made upon his conduct of life. Cyril of Alexandria, in his answer to (*q*) Julian, makes honorable mention of *Marcella*, as a woman of a philosophical turn of mind, and for that reason esteemed by Porphyrie.

Porphyrie is called *Bataneotes* (*r*) by Jerome and (*s*) Chrysostom. Baronius (*t*) hence argued, that Porphyrie was a Jew, and was so called from Batanea, a city in Palestine. Which opinion is rejected by his learned (*u*) Annotator. Porphyrie, certainly, was a Syrian,

as

(*m*) Εὐ Ρώμῃ δὲ λέγεται μεταλλοχεῖν τὸν βίον. Eun. ib.

(*n*) ... γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Αὐρηλιανῆς, καὶ παρατείνας ἕως Διοκλητιανῆς τῆ βασιλείας. Suid. V. Πορφύριος.

(*o*) Eunap. p. 21.

(*p*) Καὶ πρὸς Μάρκελλαν γε αὐτὴ γυναῖκα γενομένην, βιβλίον φέρεται, ἣν φησὶν ἀγαγέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔσαν πέντε μητέρα τέκνων, κ. λ. Id. ib.

(*q*) Contr. Julian. l. 6. p. 209.

(*r*) Quod nequaquam intelligens Bata-

neotes et sceleratus ille Porphyrius, &c. Pr. in Comment. in ep. ad Galat. T. 4. p. 223.

(*s*) Ὅτι περὶ Κέλσον καὶ τὸν Βατανεώτην τοῦ μετ' ἐκείνων. In 1 Cor. hom. 6. p. 47. T. x.

(*t*) Porro eum constat natione Judæum, Bataneae, quae est in Judea civitas, natum. Hincque est quod S. Hieronymus eum Bataneotem appellat. Baron. ann. 203. n. li.

(*u*) Pagi ann. 302. n. viii.

as was shewn above from unquestioned authority. Fabricius (x) suspects, that Porphyrie was born at Batanéa, a town in Syria, which might be a colonie of the Tyrians. Heuman thought, that (y) Porphyrie did not put his own name to the work against the Christians, but published it under the borrowed and fictitious name of *Bataneotes*. There are divers other conjectures concerning the original of this appellation, which may be seen in (z) Lucas Holstenius, and (a) Tanaquil Faber, and other learned men. Which of them is right, or whether any one of them be so, I cannot say.

Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical Historie, represents (b) Porphyrie as originally a Christian. But having been beaten by some Christians at Cefarea in Palestine, out of resentment and melancholie, he was induced to renounce Christianity. And afterwards out of hatred against those by whom he had been beaten, he wrote against the Christians. And he seems to intimate, that Eusebius had said as much. But nothing of that kind is now to be found in Eusebius. Nor do the words of Socrates clearly import, that Eusebius had said so. Augustin too (c) has been referred to, as confirming this account. But as Tillemont (d) has observed, the connexion of the discourse shews, that Augustin intended no more, than that this Philosopher was too proud to embrace Christianity. Heuman (e) also has considered this storie, and rejects it as a mere fable.

If

(x) Suspicio patriam veram ejus fuisse Bataneam oppidum Syriae, . . . Tyrionum forte coloniam. *Bib. Gr. T. 4. p. 181.*

(y) Heuman. *Poe. seu Epist. Miscell. T. 3. p. 51.*

(z) *De Vita Porph. cap. 4.*

(a) *Fab. Ep. 1. ep. 64.*

(b) Εχένος μὲν γὰρ πληγὰς ἐν Καισαρέα τῆς Παλαιστίνης ὑπὸ τινῶν Χριστιανῶν ἔληφας, καὶ μὴ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν ὀργὴν, ἐκ μελαγχολίας τὸν μὲν Χριστιανισμόν ἀπέλειπε. Μίσει δὲ τῶν τυπικιστῶν αὐτὸν, εἰς τὸ βλάσφημα κατὰ τῶν

Χριστιανῶν γράφειν ἐξέπεσεν, ὡς αὐτὸν Εὐσέβιος ὁ Πάμφιλος ἐξήλεγξεν, ἀνασκευάσας τὶς λόγους αὐτοῦ. *Socr. l. 3. c. 23. p. 200.*

(c) Quam [sapientiam] si vere ac fideliter amasses, Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam cognovisses, nec ab ejus saluberrima humilitate tumore inflatus vanae scientiae resiluisses. *De Civ. Dei. l. x. cap. 28.*

(d) *Diocletien. art. 28.*

(e) *Ubi sup. Epist. Miscell. T. 3. p. 53. &c.*

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If Porphyrie had ever been a Christian, it was a thing too remarkable, not to have been often and expressly mentioned by Christian authors, who have had occasion to speak of him. And he would have been frequently called an Apostate, as well as Julian.

Porphyrie, as cited by (f) Eusebius, speaks of his having in his youth seen Origen. Some have hence argued, that Porphyrie went to Alexandria, to see Origen. And it is expressly said by (g) Vincentius Lirinensis. But it must be a mistake. For Origen left Alexandria before Porphyrie was born, having removed thence (h) in the year 231. But Porphyrie may have seen Origen at Cesarea, or Tyre, where he resided a good while after he had left Alexandria.

Mill in his Prolegomena, a work, which one would not suspect to have been writ in haste, calls Porphyrie (i) Origen's schoolfellow. Indeed Eunapius makes mention of an Origen, whom (k) he so calls. But it is not our Origen. That Origen published but two books only, as we learn from Porphyrie himself in the (l) Life of Plotinus. Which cannot suit so voluminous an author as our Origen. Moreover Porphyrie, in the place, where he speaks of his having seen Origen, acknowledgeth, that he was then in great repute among the Christians * * *.

Divers other erroneous and groundless opinions concerning Porphyrie have been entertained by some learned moderns. Which may be seen confuted in Pagi, and other authors, referred to by me at the begining of this Chapter.

Por-

(f) *H. E. l. 6. c. 19. p. 219. C.*

(g) Namque impius ille Porphyrius excitum se famâ ipsius Alexandriam fere puerum perrexisset, ibique eum vidisset, jam senem, sed plane talem tantumque, qui arcem totius scientiae condidisset. *Vinc. Lir. Comm. cap. 23. p. 343. Baluz. 1669.*

(h) See the Credibility, &c. Vol. 3. p. 194. 195.

(i) Sub hoc tempore, seu etiam aliquanto post, Origenis condiscipulus, Por-

phyrius, libros quosdam adversus Christianos edidit. *Prol. num. 702.*

(k) Συμφοριτῆται μὲν ἐν (ὡς αὐτὸς ἀναγράφει) κρᾶτισοι τινὲς ὑπῆρχον, Ωριγένους τε, καὶ Ἀμέλίου, καὶ Ἀκυλίνου. *Eunap. vit. Porph. p. 19.*

(l) *Vit. Plotin. cap. 2.*

* * * Concerning this point may be seen *Vales. Ann. in Euseb. l. 6. c. 19. p. 120. et Fabr. de Vit. Plotini. Bib. Gr. T. 4. p. 97. in notis.*

Porphyrus's works were very numerous. There is a large catalogue of them in Suidas, though not compleat. His defects are supplied by Fabricius, and Lucas Holstenius. I shall mention but a few of them.

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Beside that inscribed to *Marcella* already mentioned, and his *Life of Plotinus*, he wrote Of (*l*) Abstinence from animals, in four books, still extant.

A Philosophical Historie, or Historie of Philosophers, also in four books, quoted several times by Cyril of Alexandria, in his work against Julian: mentioned also by (*m*) Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical Historie. From Eunapius we know, that (*n*) it concluded with the *Life of Plato*.

And, probably, in the first book of that work was the *Life of Pythagoras*, which we now have, but not compleat.

Against (*o*) the Christians, in fifteen books. But there is nothing of this work remaining, excepting some fragments, which it is incumbent on me to collect out of several authors, in which they are to be found. He was answered by Methodius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollonarius of Laodicea in Syria. All which confutations of this adversarie of the Christians are entirely lost.

They were all very prolix, as appear from Jerome's accounts of them. That of Methodius (*p*) consisted of ten thousand lines, Eusebe's

(*l*) Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων. *Suid.*

(*m*) Πορφύριος μὲν γὰρ τῷ κοροφαιοτάτῃ τῶν φιλοσόφων Σωκράτῃ τὸν βίον διέσπειν ἐν τῇ γεγραμμένῃ αὐτῷ φιλοσοφῇ ἱστορίᾳ. *Socr. l. 3. c. 23. p. 197. D.*

(*n*) Τὴν φιλοσοφὴν ἱστορεῖν, καὶ τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀνάγων βίους, ὃ Πορφύριος καὶ Σωτρίων ἀνέλεξαντο· ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν Πορφύριος, ἕτοιμα συμβᾶν, εἰς Πλάτωνα ἐτελεύτα, καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖνα χρόνους. *Eunap. Pr. p. 10.*

(*o*) Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγος. *Suid.*

(*p*) See a passage before cited from Jerome in the general account of the early adversaries of the Christians, Vol. 2. p. 262, to which I now add here some others.

... et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribebat in Sicilia, ut quidam putant, libri triginta: de quibus ad me viginti tantum pervenerunt. *Hieron. de V. l. cap. 81.*

Extant ejus [Apollinar. Laod.] adversus

A. D. 270. Euseb's of twenty books, or more, Apollonarius's thirty books. And the twenty-sixth book, which was taken up in answering Porphyrie's Objections against the book of Daniel, was very long.

It is generally supposed, that Porphyrie's work against the Christians was writ in Sicilie, as is intimated by (q) Eusebius, and (r) Jerome. And by Cave Porphyrie is placed, as flourishing in the year 270. where I also place him. And I do so partly out of regard to Suidas, who as before seen, says, he flourished in the time of *Aurelian*: whose reign commenced before the end of the year 270. Porphyrie was then almost forty years of age. At that time he was in Sicilie. But I do not recollect any thing that should determine the exact time, when he published his work against the Christians. For he might reside in Sicilie some while. Nor is there any remaining evidence, that immediatly after coming into that island, he set about this work. But we know, that it was answered by Methodius, who (s) is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in the year of Christ 311. or 312. near the end of Diocletian's persecution, if not sooner. Eusebius flourished from the year 315. and after. But when his confutation of Porphyrie was published, cannot be said exactly. I think, it (t) was one of his first works, and might be published, before he was Bishop. Porphyrie's long stay in Sicilie was so well known, or so much talked of, that (u) Augustin seems to have thought it to be his native countrey.

So-

fus Porphyrium triginta libri, qui inter cetera opera ejus vel maxime probantur. *Id. de V. I. cap. 104.*

Apollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est, vicesimo sexto. &c. *Praef. in Dan. T. 3. p. 1071.*

(q) *H. E. l. 6. cap. 19. p. 219.*

(r) *De V. I. cap. 81.*

(s) See the *Credibility, &c. Vol. v. p. 234. 235.*

(t) See *Credibility, &c. vol. 8. p. 43.*

(u) . . . quia quidam philosophi eorum, sicut in libris suis Porphyrius sicut prodidit, &c. *De Consensu Evang. l. 1. cap. 15. T. 3. P. 2.*

. . . praesertim quia nonnullas earum a Porphyrio philosopho propositas dixit. Sed non eum esse arbitror Porphyrium Siculum illum, cujus celeberrima est fama. *Retract. l. 2. cap. 31. Tom. i.*

Socrates, the Ecclesiastical Historian, has preserved a letter of Constantin writ soon after the Council of Nice, which was held in 325. It is to this purpose. “As (z) Arius has imitated the impious and profane, it is but just, that he should undergo the same infamie with them. As therefore Porphyrie, that enemy of true piety, has received a fit reward for his impious writings against religion: so that he is made infamous to all future times, and covered with reproach, and his impious writings have been destroyed: so now it is decreed, that Arius and his followers should be called *Porphyrians*, that they may bear the denomination of those whom they have imitated. And if any writing of Arius is found, it should be burnt.” And what follows.

From which, I think, it may be concluded, that before that time, there had been an order for destroying all the books of Porphyrie against the Christian Religion. But that edict had not it's full effect. For Apollinarius, who wrote so voluminous, a confutation of Porphyrie, did not flourish till after the middle of the fourth century. And Libanius, who lived at the same time, was (a) pleased to give a preference to Julian's work against the Christians to that of Porphyrie, *the Tyrian old man*, as he calls him. Which implies a supposition, that he had read what Porphyrie had writ upon that subject, or, at least, that it was then extant. And Jerome, in his works, writ in the later part of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth century, has made large extracts out of some parts of that work of Porphyrie. Finally, there was a new edict (b) of Theodosius the Younger in 449. for abolishing the works of Porphyrie. Which affords reason to believe, that they subsisted, and were in being, till that time.

There

(z) *Socr. l. 1. cap. ix. p. 32.*

(b) *See before. Vol. 2. p. 263.*

(a) *Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. in.*

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There is another work, which is now generally ascribed to Porphyrie, and is quoted as his by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration. It is entitled, "Of (c) the Philosophie from Oracles." I formerly declared my opinion (d) concerning it, that it is not genuine. Before we conclude this chapter, we shall have occasion to speak more distinctly about that work.

A Passage
concerning
Origen.

II. The first passage of Porphyrie, which I shall transcribe, will be taken from Eusebius, who, in the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical Historie, speaking of Origen, says, that many of the Greek Philosophers, who were his contemporaries, had made honorable mention of him, and some had dedicated books to him. "But, as he" adds, what need I to insist on them, when Porphyrie (e) who in "our time, whilst he was in Sicilie, wrote against us, and endeavored to disparage our Scriptures, speaking of those who had interpreted them, for want of arguments, betakes himself to railing, "and reviles those interpreters, and among them especially Origen: "whom, as he says, when he was young, he was acquainted with. "But let us hear his own words, which are these. Some, says (f) "he, determined not to see the depravity of the Jewish Scriptures, but "to find out a solution of objections that may be brought against them, "have adopted forced interpretations: inconsistent in themselves, and "unsuitable to those writings: and such as should not only be a vindication

(c) Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας.

(d) Credibility, &c. vol. 8. p. 60.

(e) "Ὅτε καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν σικελίᾳ κατασ-
τας Πορφύριος, συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνση-
σάμενος. κ. λ. H. E. l. 6. c. 19. p. 219.

(f) Τῆς δὲ μοχθηρίας τῶν ἰσδαϊκῶν γραφῶν
ἐκ ἀπόσεσιν, λύσιν δὲ τίνες εὐρεῖν προθυμηθέν-
τες, ἐπ' ἐξηγήσεως ἐτράποντο ἀσυγκλάστους καὶ

ἀναρμόστους τοῖς γεγραμμένοις· οὐκ ἀπολογίαν
μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀθνείων, παραδοχὴν δὲ καὶ ἐ-
παινόν τοῖς οἰκείοις φέρισας. Ἀινίγματα γὰρ
τὰ φανερά· παρὰ Μωϋσεὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι κομ-
πάσαντες, καὶ ἐπιθειάσαντες ὡς θέσπισματα
πλήρη κρυφίων μυστηρίων, διὰ τε τῆς τύφου τοῦ κρι-
τικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καταγοιτεύσαντες, ἐπάγασιν
ἐξηγήσεις. Ib. p. 219. 220.

“ cation of those absurdities, but afford likewise a recommendation of
 “ their own particular opinions. For having given out, that the things
 “ delivered plainly by Moses, are types and allegories, and pretending
 “ that those writings are inspired, and to be looked upon as oracles full
 “ of hidden mysteries, and having by this means captivated the judge-
 “ ments of men, they with a critical pride and vanity, set forth their
 “ expositions. And afterwards, (f) as he goes on : An example of this
 “ absurd method may be observed in a man, whom I saw, when I was
 “ very young, who was then in great esteem, and is so still, for the
 “ writings which he has left behind him. I mean Origen, whose au-
 “ thority is very great with the teachers of this doctrine. For he be-
 “ ing a bearer of Ammonius, who was so eminent in our time for skill
 “ in philosophie, in point of learning made great improvements by the in-
 “ structions of that master, but with regard to the right way of life took
 “ a quite different course from him. For Ammonius, a Christian by birth,
 “ and brought up by Christian parents, as soon as he was arrived to ma-
 “ turity of age, and had gained a taste of philosophie, returned to the way
 “ of life prescribed by the laws. But Origen, a Greek, and educated
 “ in the Greek sentiment, went over to the barbarian temerity : to
 “ which he devoted himself, and corrupted himself, and the principles of
 “ literature, which he had received : as to his life, living as a Chri-
 “ stian, and contrarie to the laws : with regard to his sentiments con-
 “ cerning things, and the Deity, a Greek, and joyning Greek senti-
 “ ments with their absurd fables. For he was very conversant with
 “ Plato, and Numenius, and Cronius, as well as with the writings of
 “ Apollophanes, and Longinus, as also of Moderatus, and Nicomachus,

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“ and

(f) Ακροατὴς γὰρ οὗτος Ἀμμωνίου
 εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν, πολλὴν παρὰ
 τῷ διδασκάλῳ τὴν ἀρέλειαν ἐκτήσατο· εἰς δὲ
 τὴν ὀρθὴν τῷ βίῳ προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκείνῳ
 τῷ βίῳ πορείαν ἐποίησατο. Ἀμμωνίος μὲν γὰρ
 . . . εὐθύς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετε-
 βάλετο. Ὀριγένης δὲ Ἕλληνα ἐν Ἑλλήσιν παιδεύ-

θεὶς λόγοις πρὸς τὸ βάρεσθαι ἐξώκελε τόλμη-
 μα. ὧ δὲ φέρων αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ἐν λόγοις ἔξιν
 ἐκαπήλευσε· κατὰ μὲν τὸν βίον, Χριστιανῶς ζῶν,
 καὶ παρανόμως· κατὰ δὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμά-
 των, καὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξας, ἐλληρίζων τε καὶ τὰ ἐλλή-
 νων τοῖς ὀθνεῖσι ὑποβαλλόμενος μύθοις. Ib.
 p. 220.

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 " Chaeremon, and of Cornutus. When he had learned from them the
 " allegorical method of explaining the Greek mysteries, he applied it to
 " the Jewish Scriptures. So writes Porphyrie in the third book of
 " his work against the Christians."

Upon this passage we may make a few remarks.

1. Eusebius supposeth, that Porphyrie's book against the Christians was writ in Sicilie. The same is intimated by (g) Jerome.

2. Porphyrie speaks of his having in his youth seen Origen. Some have hence concluded, that Porphyrie went to Alexandria on purpose to see Origen. But that must be a (b) mistake, as was shewn just now.

3. Porphyrie calls Origen a *Greek*, and says he was educated in the *Greek sentiments*, but afterwards, when grown up, he embraced the Christian Religion. All which Eusebius, who must have well known Origen's historie, shews to be false. Origen's father, Leonidas, was a Christian, and a Martyr for the Christian Religion. Certainly, I think, our Ecclesiastical Historian's account may be relied upon, as (i) was formerly observed. This mistake of Porphyrie, in my opinion, affords a good argument to believe, that he was not originally a Christian. If he had, he could not have been so strangely ignorant about Christian affairs.

4. From this passage we can conclude, that in the third book of his work, as well as elsewhere, Porphyrie made objections against our Scriptures, and the Christian interpretations of them.

5. None can forbear to observe Porphyrie's manner of speaking of the Christians, and the Christian Religion. This he calls *the barbarian temerity*. They who embraced it, acted *contrarie to the*
 " laws."

(g) . . . et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribebat in Sicilia. De V. I. cap. 81.

(b) Vid. Vales. in loc.

(i) See Credib. P. 2, Vol. 3. p. 181. . . . 184.

laws: they who forsook it, returned to the way of life prescribed by the laws. This way of speaking seems not so very becoming a Philosopher, who should follow the dictates of reason, whether they have the encouragement of human authority, or not. However, we hence perceive, that Christianity was not so encouraged at that time, though perhaps it was not openly persecuted. And, I humbly conceive, that they who then embraced a life contrarie to the laws, may be reasonably supposed to have been as honest and understanding men, as they who in all things complied with the laws. They who lived a life contrarie to the laws, must have practised some self-denial. Which they would not have done, without some reason for it.

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III. I shall now allege Porphyrie's Objections against the book of Daniel, which was in the twelfth book of his work against the Christians.

Porphyrie's Objections against the Book of Daniel.

1. In the first place I shall transcribe a part of St. Jerome's preface to his Commentarie upon the Prophet Daniel, writ about the year 410. or sooner.

“ The (*k*) twelfth book of Porphyrie, says Jerome, was writ against

(*k*) Contra Prophetam Daniele duodecimum librum scripsit Porphyrius, nolens eum ab ipso, cujus inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum: sed a quodam, qui temporibus Antiochi, qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerit in Juadaea: et non tam Daniele ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse praeterita. Denique quicquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere: si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, esse mentitum. Cui solertissime responderunt Caesariensis episcopus tribus voluminibus, id est, octavo decimo, et nono decimo,

et vicesimo: Apollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est vicesimo sexto: et ante hos, ex parte, Methodius. Verum, quia nobis propositum est, non adversarii calumniis respondere, quae longo sermone indigent: sed ea quae a Propheta dicta sunt, nostris differere, id est, Christianis, illud in praefatione commoneo, nullum Prophetarum, tam aperte dixisse de Christo. Non enim solum scribit eum venturum, quod est commune cum ceteris: sed etiam quo tempore venturus sit, docet, et reges per ordinem digere, et annos enumerat, ac manifestissima signa prae-

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“ gainst the book of the Prophet Daniel : in which he says, that
 “ it was not writ by him whose name it bears, but by another,
 “ who lived in Judea in the time of Antiochus, surnamed Epipha-
 “ nes : and that the book of Daniel does not foretell things to come,

“ but

praenuntiat. Quae quia vidit Porphyrius universa completa, et transacta negare non poterat, superatus historiae veritate, in hanc prorupit calumniam : ut ea quae in consummatione mundi de Antichristo futura diceret, propter gestorum in quibusdam similitudinem, sub Antiocho Epiphane impleta contendit. Cujus impugnationis testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut Propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse praeterrita. Et tamen sicubi se occasio in explanatione ejusdem voluminis dederit, calumniae illius stric- tim respondere conabor. . . . Sed et hoc nosse debemus inter cetera, Porphyrium de Danielis libro nobis objicere, idcirco illum apparere confictum, nec haberi apud Hebraeos, sed Graeci sermonis esse commentum, quia in Susannae fabula contineatur, dicente Daniele ad Presbyteros, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου ἔχουσιν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πρίσκειν, quam etymologiam magis Graeco sermoni convenire, quam Hebraeo. Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententia responderunt, Susannae, Belisque, ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico, sed partem esse prophetiae Abacuc, filii Jesu de tribu Levi : sicut juxta LXX. interpretes in titulo ejusdem Belis fabulae ponitur : *Homō quidam erat sacerdos, nomine Daniel, filius Abda, conviva regis Babylonis : quum Daniele et tres pueros de tribu Juda fuisse, sancta scriptura refertur. . . .*

Et miror quosdam μεμνημένοις indignari mihi, quasi ego decurtaverim librum, quum et Origines et Eusebius et Apollinarius, alique ecclesiastici viri et doctores Graeciae, has, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebraeos fateantur, nec se debere respondere Porphyrio, pro his, quae nullam scripturae sanctae auctoritatem praebeant. . . . Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Graecorum historia necessaria est : Suctorii videlicet, Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse sequutum se dicit : Josephi quoque, et eorum quos ponit Josephus, praecipueque nostri Livii, et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justinii, qui omnem extremae visionis narrant historiam : et post Alexandrum usque ad Caesarem Augustum, Syriae, et Aegypti, id est, Seleuci, et Antiochi, et Ptolomaeorum bella describunt. Et si quando cogimur literarum secularium recordari, et aliqua ex his dicere quae olim omisimus, non nostrae est voluntatis, sed ut ita dicam, gravissimae necessitatis : ut probemus ea quae a sanctis Prophetis ante secula multo praedicta sunt, tam Graecorum, quam Latinorum, et aliarum gentium literis contineri. *Hieron. Pr. ad Explan. in Daniel. ad Pammaeh. et Marcellam. Tom. 3. p. 1071. &c.*

" but relates what had already happened. In a word, whatever it
 " contains to the time of Antiochus is true historie. If there is any
 " thing relating to after times, it is all falshood: forasmuch as the
 " writer could not see things future, but at the most only make
 " some conjectures about them. To him several of our authors
 " have writ answers with great labour and diligence, in particular,
 " Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea in three volumes, the 18. the 19. and
 " the 20. Apollinarius also, in one large book, that is, the 26.
 " and before them, in part, Methodius. As it is not my design to
 " confute the objections of the adversarie, which would require a
 " long discourse, but only to explain the Prophet to our own peo-
 " ple, that is, Christians: I shall just observe, that none of the
 " Prophets have spoken so clearly of Christ, as Daniel. For he not
 " only foretells his coming, as do the others likewise: but he also
 " teaches the time when he will come, and mentions in order the
 " princes of the intermediate space, and the number of the years,
 " and the signs of his appearance. And because Porphyrie saw all
 " these things to have been fulfilled, and could not deny, that they
 " had actually come to pass, being overcome by the power of truth,
 " he was compelled to say, as he did: and because of some simili-
 " tude of circumstances, he asserted, that the things foretold as to
 " be fulfilled in Anti-christ at the end of the world, happened in
 " the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Which kind of opposition is a
 " testimonie of truth. For such is the plain interpretation of the
 " words, that to incredulous men the Prophet seems not to foretell
 " things to come, but to relate things already past. And though,
 " as before said, it is not my intention to confute all his objections, I
 " shall, as occasion offers, take notice of some of his weak arguments.
 " ... And it may be proper for us, among other things to observe
 " now, that Porphyrie argued, that the book of Daniel was not ge-
 " nuine, because it was writ in Greek, and therefore certainly was not
 " the work of any Jew, but the forgerie of some Greek writer. This
 " he argued from some Greek words, which are in the fable of Su-
 " sanna.

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“ *sanna*. To which both Eusebius and Apollinarius returned the same
 “ answer: That the fabulous stories of *Susanna*, and *Bel*, and the *Dra-*
 “ *gon*, are not in the Hebrew, and are said to have been composed
 “ by a person of the tribe of Levi: whereas the sacred Scripture as-
 “ sures us, that Daniel and the three children, his companions, were
 “ of the tribe of Judah. And they said, they were not accountable
 “ for what was not received by the Jews, nor was a part of the sacred
 “ Scriptures. . . It ought to be farther observed, that in order to un-
 “ derstand the later parts of the book of Daniel, an acquaintance
 “ with many Greek historians is absolutely necessarie, such as *Sucto-*
 “ *rius*, *Callinicus*, *Diodorus*, *Hieronymus*, *Polybius*, *Possidonius*, *Claudi-*
 “ *us*, *Theon*, and *Andronicus*, surnamed *Alipius*, whom also Porphyrie
 “ says he had followed: as likewise *Josephus*, and *Livie*, and *Pompeius*
 “ *Trogus*, and *Justin*, who all relate the historie of the last vision,
 “ and write the historie of the wars of Syria, and Egypt, that is, of
 “ Seleucus, and Antiochus, and the Ptolomees, from the time of
 “ Alexander to the Roman Emperour Augustus. And if I also con-
 “ sult these profane authors, it is out of mere necessity, that I may
 “ shew the fulfillment of the ancient prophecies, from the writings
 “ of Greek, and Latin, and other authors.”

From all which we perceive, that Porphyrie's work against the
 Christians was much labored, and that in this argument he display-
 ed all his learning, which was very considerable. Hence also we
 can perceive the difficulty of undertaking an answer to him: for
 which very few were fully qualified: In which none of the Apolo-
 gists for Christianity seem to have answered expectations. The pre-
 face of Jerome to his commentarie upon Daniel, which I have now
 so largely quoted, is supposed to have been writ about the year 407.
 as before said. In the preface to his Latin translation of Daniel from
 Hebrew, computed to have been made in 392. or sooner, he says:
 “ The (1) objections of Porphyrie against this book are well known
 “ from

(1) Quae autem ex hoc Propheta, im- jiciat, testes sunt Methodius, Eusebius,
 mo contra hunc librum, Porphyrius ob- Apollinarius, qui multis versuum milli-
 bus

“ from Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius, who have writ prolix answers to him. I cannot say, whether they have satisfied the curious reader.”

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Thus writes Jerome, with great freedom, as may be supposed. In short, *Porphyrie* was a formidable adversarie. The Publick was satisfied with Origen's one answer to * Celsus. For we hear not of any other attempted afterwards. But against Porphyrie, after Methodius, wrote Eusebius, and after him Apollinarius, these two last, especially, very large volumes. And yet all together seem not to have made out a compleat answer.

I now intend to transcribe several articles of Jerome's Commentarie upon Daniel, in which some notice is taken of Porphyrie.

2. Dan. ii. 40. *And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron : forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things. . .* “ Which, “ as Jerome (*m*) observes, plainly denotes the Romans.” And afterwards :

bus ejus vesaniae respondentem, nescio an curioso lectori satisfecerint. *Hieron. T. i. p. 990.*

* Jerome in one place intimates, that very many had writ against Celsus and Porphyrie. Adversum impiissimos Celsum atque Porphyrium, quanti scripsere nostrorum? *Advers. Rufin. l. 3. T. 4. p. 472.* But that may be principally intended of Porphyrie, against whom several had writ, as we have seen. And many Christian writers may have, in their works, occasionally confuted Celsus. But it does not appear, that any, beside Origen, had writ against him on set purpose. Nor did Jerome know of any other : as is

evident from the manner of his expressions in divers places. Origenes, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, multis versusum millibus scribunt adversus Celsum et Porphyrium. *Adv. Jovinian. ep. 30. al. 50. p. 236.* Scripserunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius. Priori Origenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius et Apollinaris fortissime responderunt. *Ad Magnum. ep. 83. al. 84. p. 655.*

(*m*) Regnum autem quartum, quod perspicue refertur ad Romanos, ferrum est, quod comminuit et domat omnia. . . . In fine autem horum omnium regnorum, auri, argenti, aeris, et ferri, abscissus est lapis Dominus atque Salvator, sine manibus,

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terwards: " But in the end of all these kingdoms, of gold, silver,
 " brasse, and iron, *was cut out* [see ver. 34. and 45.] *a stone*, which
 " denotes our Lord and Saviour, *cut out without hands*, that is, born
 " of a virgin, without the concurrence of man. Which, breaking
 " in pieces all the other kingdoms, became a great mountain, and
 " filled all the earth. Which the Jews and the impious Porphyrie
 " refer to the people of Israel, who in the end of the world, as they
 " will have it, shall be very powerfull, and break in pieces all other
 " kingdoms, and reign for ever."

3. Ver. 46. 47. *Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell on his face,*
and worshiped Daniel, and commanded, that they should offer an ob-
lation, and sweet odours unto him. " Upon this place (n) Porphy-
 " rie says, it is not reasonable to believe, that a proud King should
 " worship a captive: as if, says Jerome, it were not true that the
 " Lycaonians intended to offer sacrifices to Paul and Barnabas, when
 " they were surpris'd at the greatnesse of the miracles, which they
 " had seen. [Acts xiv.] The fault lies in the Heathen people, who
 " reckon every being above them to be a God. The Scriptures are
 " not to be blamed, which only relate things truly, as they hap-
 " pened.

bus, id est, absque coïtu et humano se-
 mine, de utero virginali, et contritis om-
 nibus regnis factus est mons magnus, et
 implevit universam terram. Quod Judaei
 et impius Porphyrius male ad populum
 referunt Israel, quem in fine seculorum
 volunt esse fortissimum, et omnia regna
 contere, et regnare in aeternum. *Hi-*
eron. Tom. 3. p. 1081.

(n) Hunc locum calumniatur Porphy-
 rius, quod nunquam superbissimus rex
 captivum adoraverit: quasi non et Lyca-
 ones ob signorum magnitudinem Paulo et
 Barnabae voluerint hostias immolare. Er-

ror ergo est Gentilium, qui omne quod
 supra se est deos putant. Scripturae non
 debet imputari, quae simpliciter refert u-
 niversa quae gesta sunt. Sed et hoc pos-
 sumus dicere, quod causas adorandi et
 immolandarum victimarum, et incensi et
 sacrificii ipse rex exposuerit, dicens ad
 Danielelem. *Vere Deus vester Deus Deo-*
rum est, et Dominus Regum. . . Ergo non
tam Danielelem, quam in Daniele adorat
Deum, qui mysteria revelavit. Quod si
displicet hoc, dicendum est. . . Ib. p. 1081.
 1082.

“pened. And it may be said, that the King himself sufficiently
 “explains the grounds of his worship, and his offering sacrifices,
 “and incense, in his own words, which follow. Ver. 47. *The King*
 “*answered unto Daniel, and said: Of a truth it is, that your God is*
 “*a God of Gods, and a Lord of Kings, and a revealer of secrets:*
 “*seeing, thou couldst reveal this secret.* “Therefore the King did
 “not so much worship Daniel, as God in Daniel, who had reveal-
 “ed those secrets.”

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And least that solution should not satisfy, *Jerome* proposeth another, which I need not mention.

4...ver. 48. *Then the King made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts.* “Here, says (o) *Jerome*, the reviler of the
 “Church, (probably, meaning *Porphyrie*, the same that had been
 “mentioned before :) takes upon him to blame the Prophet for not
 “refusing those gifts, and for readily accepting Babylonish honours:
 “not considering, as *Jerome* adds, that therefore the King had the
 “dream, and the secrets of it had been revealed to Daniel, that he
 “might rise, and in the place of his captivity, be made Chief of all
 “the Chaldeans, that the Divine Omnipotence might be made
 “known.” *Jerome* goes on to say, “That the like favours had
 “been shewn to *Joseph* in Egypt, in the time of *Pharaoh*, and to
 “*Mordecai* in the time of *Ahasuerus*: that in both places the Jew-
 “ish people, who were there captives and strangers, might be com-
 “forted,

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(o) Et in hoc calumniator Ecclesiae, Prophetam reprehendere nititur, quare non recusarit munera, et honorem Babylonium libenter suscepit: non considerans, ideo regem vidisse somnium, et interpretationis mysteria per puerum revelata, ut Daniel cresceret, et in loco captivitatis princeps omnium fieret Chaldaeo-

rum, et Dei omnipotentia nosceretur. Quod quidem et in *Joseph* apud *Pharaonem* et *Aegyptum* factum legimus: Et in *Mardocheo* apud *Ahasuerum*: ut in utraque gente haberent captivi et peregrinantes *Judaei* solatia, videntes hominem gentis suae *Aegyptiorum* esse principem vel *Chaldaeorum*. P. 1082.

A. D. 270. “forted, and supported, beholding a man of their own nation made
“Lord of the Egyptians and Chaldeans.”

5. Having recited the first three verses of the fourth chapter, Jerome says: “The (*p*) letter of Nebuchadnezzar is inserted in the
“volume of the Prophets, that the book might not be afterwards
“thought to be a forgerie, as a certain sycophant pretends, but might
“be known to be the book of Daniel himself.”

6. Ch. v. ver. 10. *Now the Queen, by reason of the words of the King, and his lords, came into the banqueting-house.* “Her, (*q*) Josephus reckons the grand mother of *Belshazzar*: Origen calls her
“his mother. She therefore was acquainted with the things past in
“former times, which the King was ignorant of. Let *Porphyrie*
“then awake, who dreams, that she was *Belshazzar*’s wife: and
“ridicules her for knowing more than her husband.”

7. Ch. vii. ver. 7. *After this I saw in the night-visions, and behold, a fourth beast . . and it had ten horns.* “*Porphyrie*, says (*r*) Jerome,
“puts the two last beasts, that of the Macedonians and Romans, in
“the one kingdom of the Macedonians. And then divides it in this
“manner.

(*p*) Epistola Nebuchodonosor in Prophetæ volumine ponitur: ut non fictus alio postea liber, sicut sycophanta mentitur, sed ipsius Danielis esse credatur. *P.* 1087.

(*q*) Hanc Josephus aviam Balthasaris, Origenes matrem scribunt. Unde et novit præterita, quæ rex ignorabat. Evigilet ergo *Porphyrius*, qui eam Balthasaris somniat uxorem: et illudit, plus scire quam maritum. *P.* 1093.

(*r*) *Porphyrius* duas posteriores bestias, Macedonum et Romanorum in uno Ma-

cedonum regno ponit, et dividit: *Pardum* volens intelligi ipsum *Alexandrum*: bestiam autem dissimilem ceteris bestiis, quatuor *Alexandri* successores, et deinde usque ad *Antiochum*, cognomento *Epiphanen*, decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt sacratissimi: ipsosque reges non unius ponit regni, verbi gratia, *Macedoniae*, *Syriae*, *Asiae*, et *Aegypti*: sed de diversis regnis unum efficit regum ordinem: ut videlicet ea quæ scripta sunt: *Os loquens ingentia*: non de *Antichristo*, sed de *Antiocho dicta* credantur. *P.* 1100. 1101.

“ manner. By the leopard he understands Alexander himself, and
 “ the beast, *divers from the others*, he supposes to mean the four
 “ successors of Alexander : and then he computes ten Kings, till the
 “ time of Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who were exceeding
 “ cruel. And those Kings he reckons not of one and the same
 “ kingdom, for instance, Macedonia, Syria, Asia, or Egypt. But
 “ out of divers kingdoms he forms one succession of Kings. This
 “ he does, that those words, *a mouth speaking great things*, may be
 “ understood to relate, not to Antichrist, but to Antiochus.”

Doubtless, this way of interpretation best suited *Porphyrus's* notion, that the book of Daniel was not prophetic, but only related events to the time of Antiochus. However, it may not be amiss to consult Grotius, as well as other Commentators upon this place.

8. . . ver. 9. *I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another little horn . . . And, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things.*

“ In (s) vain does Porphyrus imagine, that the little horn, which
 “ came up after the ten horns denotes Antiochus Epiphanes. There-
 “ fore let us say, as all the writers of the Church have delivered it
 “ to us, that in the end of the world, when the Roman Empire is
 “ to be destroyed, there shall be ten kings, who will divide the
 “ Roman government among themselves . . .” And what follows.
 Upon this place likewise Grotius might be consulted by such as are
 curious.

9. . . ver. 14. *And there was given him a kingdom, that all people,*

na-

(s) Frustra Porphyrius cornu parvulum, quod post decem cornua ortum est, Epiphanem Antiochum suspicatur . . . Ergo dicamus quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt : In consummatione mundi,

quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant. . . &c. P. 1101.

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nations, and languages, should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion . . and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

“ Let (t) Porphyrie answer, to whom among men this can agree :
 “ or, who is so powerfull, as to break in pieces, and trample upon
 “ the little horn, which he takes to be Antiochus ? If he answers,
 “ that the Generals of Antiochus were overcome by Judas Maccabe-
 “ us, he ought to shew, *how he came with the clouds of heaven, as the*
 “ *son of man : and how he was brought before the Ancient of days :*
 “ *and power, and a kingdom was given unto him : so that all people,*
 “ *and nations, and languages, should serve him : and his kingdom*
 “ *should be everlasting, and without end.*”

10. Ch. ix. 1. *In the first year of Darius, the son of Abasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made King over the realm of the Chaldeans. Ver. 2. In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books.*

“ This (u) is *Darius*, who together with *Cyrus* overcame the
 “ *Chaldeans* and *Babylonians*, and not that *Darius*, in whose second
 “ year the temple was built : as *Porphyrie* pretends, that he may
 “ bring down the times of *Daniel* the lower : or he, who was over-
 “ come by *Alexander the Macedonian.*”

This *Darius*, as learned moderns * observe, is the same, who, by

(t) Hoc cui potest hominum convenire, respondeat Porphyrius : aut quis tam potens sit, qui cornu parvulum, quem Antiochum interpretatur fregerit, atque contriverit ? Si responderit, Antiochi principes a Juda Maccabaeo fuisse superatos, docere debet, quomodo cum coeli nubilus veniat, quasi filius hominis : et offeratur vetusto dierum, et detur ei potestas, et regnum, et omnes populi, tribus, ac linguae serviant illi : et potestas ejus aeterna sit, quae nullo fine claudatur. P.

1103.

(u) Hic est *Darius*, qui cum *Cyro* Chaldaeos Babyloniosque superavit, ne putemus illum *Darium*, cujus secundo anno templum aedificatum est, (quod *Porphyrius* suspicatur, ut annos *Danielis* extendat,) vel eum, qui ab *Alexandro*, *Macedonum* rege, superatus est. P. 1107.

* See *Prideaux Connexion*, at the year before *Christ*. 612. Vol. i. p. 48. and *Lowth* upon *Dan. ix. 1.*

by Heathen historians, is called *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages*. Porphyrie (x) is here much blamed by Grotius, for his insinuation, to the prejudice of the real time of Daniel, writer of this book.

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11. Ch. xi. ver. 20. *Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes, in the glorie of the kingdom. But within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle.*

“He (y) intends Seleucus, surnamed Philopater, son of Antiochus the Great, who did nothing worthie of his father, or the kingdom of Syria, and died ingloriously. Porphyrie will have this person not to be Seleucus, but Ptolomee Epiphanes . . . against which Jerome proceeds to argue.” For this likewise Porphyrie is corrected by (z) Grotius.

12. Upon ch. xi. 21 . . . 24. Jerome remarks. “Such (a) is the order

(x) *In anno primo Darii:] id est, Nabonnedi, ut supra dictum. Improbe Porphyrius, ut Daniele serius vixisse imperitis persuadeat, hunc Darium eum vult esse, ab quo templum est restitutum. Gr. in Dan. ix. i.*

(y) Seleucum dicit cognomento Philopatorem, filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriae et patris gessit imperio, et absque ullis proeliis inglorius periit. Porro Porphyrius non vult hunc esse Seleucum, sed Ptolomaeum Epiphanem. . . P. 1126.

(z) Illud, *stabit in loco ejus*, et Porphyrium refutat, qui haec ad Ptolomaeum Epiphanem Aegypti regem trahebat, et Hebraeos, qui ad Tryphonem Antiochi Sedetae tutorem. Gr. ad cap. xi. 20.

(a) Hucusque ordo historiae sequitur, et inter Porphyrium ac nostros nulla con-

tentio est. Cetera quae sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis ille interpretatur super persona Antiochi, qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, filius Antiochi Magni, qui post Seleucum undecim annis regnavit in Syria, obtinuitque Judaeam: sub quo Legis persecutio, et Machabaeorum bella narrantur. Nostri autem haec omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur, qui ultimo tempore futurus est. Quumque multa quae postea lecturi et exposituri sumus, super Antiochi persona conveniunt, typum eum volunt Antichristi habere: et quae in illo ex parte praecesserint, in Antichristo ex toto esse complenda. Et hunc esse morem scripturae sanctae, ut futurorum veritatem praemittat in typis, juxta illud, quod, in Domino Salvatore, in septuagesimo primo psalmo dicitur, qui praenotatur Salomonis: et omnia quae de

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“ order of the historie. Nor is there here any difference between
 “ Porphyrie and our people. The rest, which follows to the end
 “ of the volume, he interprets of Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of
 “ Seleucus, son of Antiochus the Great, who after Seleucus reigned
 “ eleven years in Syria, who subdued Judea : in whose time hap-
 “ pened the persecution of the Jewish laws, and the wars of the
 “ Maccabees. Our people suppose, that all these things are pro-
 “ phetical of Antichrist, who will appear in the last days of the
 “ world. As many things in the following part of this book agree
 “ to Antiochus, they say, he was a type of Antichrist : and that
 “ those things, which were partly verified in him, will be more
 “ fully accomplished in Antichrist. This, as Jerome says, is the
 “ manner of Scripture, which before-hand represents in types what
 “ will be more compleatly fulfilled afterwards. So what is said in
 “ the 72. Psalm of Solomon cannot all agree to him. In part, and
 “ as in a shadow, and figures, they are said of him, but are more
 “ compleatly fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour. As therefore our
 “ Saviour had for types Solomon, and other saints ; so Antichrist is
 “ to be thought to have had a type of himself in that bad prince
 “ Antiochus, who persecuted the saints, and profaned the temple.
 “ However, says Jerome, let us observe Porphyrie’s exposition, as
 “ well as our own. In the room of Seleucus, as he and his follow-
 “ ers say, came up, his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, who did such
 “ and

de eo dicuntur, Salomoni non valent con-
 venire. . . . Ex parte autem, et quasi in
 umbra, et imagine veritatis in Salomone
 praemissa sunt, ut in Domino Salvatore
 perfectius implerentur. Sicut igitur Sal-
 vator habet, et Salomonem, et ceteros
 sanctos in typum adventus sui : sic et An-
 tichristus pessimum regem Antiochum,
 qui sanctos persecutus est, et templum
 violavit, recte typum sui habuisse creden-
 dus est. Sequamur igitur expositionis or-

dinem, et juxta utramque explanationem,
 quid adversariis, quid nostris videatur,
 breviter annotemus. Stabit, inquit,
 in loco Seleuci frater ejus Antiochus Epi-
 phanes. . . Haec Porphyrius sequens Suc-
 torium sermone laciniosissimo prosequutus
 est, quae nos brevi compendio diximus.
 Nostri autem et melius interpretantur, et
 rectius : quod in fine mundi haec sit factu-
 rus Antichristus. P. 1127. 1128.

“ and such things. . . All these things, which I have thus rehearsed
“ compendiously, Porphyrie, following the guidance of *Suctorius*,
“ has drawn out with great prolixity, in an insinuating manner.
“ But our people more truly and justly explain this of Antichrist,
“ who shall appear in the end of the world.”

In his annotations upon ver. 21. Grotius (*b*) expresseth an earnest wish for *Suctorius*, and other writers, made use of by Porphyrie, for explaining what follows. In the mean time, he says, we must do the best we can with what we have.

13. Upon ver. 25. and 26. of the same xi. ch. Jerome goes on:
“ These (*c*) things Porphyrie explains of Antiochus. . . But our people, according to the forementioned sense. . . interpret all of Antichrist.”

14. I forbear to take any thing from Jerome’s comment upon ver. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33.

15. Ver. 34. *Now when they shall fall, they shall be holden with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.* Ver. 35. *And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed.*

“ By (*d*) the little help Porphyrie supposes to be intended Mattathias, 1 Macc.
ii. 1. . 5.

(*b*) Magno velim ad explicanda quae sequuntur Suctorium mihi dari, quo usus olim Porphyrius. Eum multosque alios cum non habeamus, utendum nobis iis scriptoribus qui restant, et iis quae ex Porphyrio nobis dedit Hieronymus. *Gr. in Dan. xi. 21.*

(*c*) Haec Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus Ptolomaeum, sororis suae filium, profectus est cum exercitu magno. . . . Nostri autem, secundum priorem sententiam, interpretantur omnia de Antichristo. *P. 1128.*

(*d*) Parvulum auxilium, Mattathiam fig-

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“ thias, of the town of Modin, who rebelled against the Generals
 “ of Antiochus, and endeavored to uphold the worship of God. He
 “ calls it, he says, *a little help*, because Mattathias was killed in bat-
 “ tle, and afterwards his son Judas, called Maccabaeus, fell also.
 “ And his brothers were imposed upon by the treacherie of their
 “ adversaries. Read the books of the Maccabees. All these things,
 “ as he says, were therefore done, that the pious might be tried, and
 “ purified, and made white, to a certain time: because the victorie
 “ was deferred to another time. But our people explain the little
 “ help under Antichrist, after the following manner.”

16. Ver. 36. *And the king shall do according to his will. And he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper, till the indignation be accomplished. For that that is determined shall be done.*

“ This (e) also says Jerome, we understand of Antichrist. But
 “ Por-

significari arbitratur Porphyrius de vico Modin, qui adversum duces Antiochi rebellavit, et cultum veri Dei servare conatus est. Parvum autem, inquit, auxilium vocat, quia occisus est in proelio Mattathias, et postea Judas filius ejus, qui vocabatur Machabaeus, pugnans cecidit, et ceteri fratres ejus adversariorum fraude decepti sunt. Lege Machabaeorum libros. Haec, ait, omnia idcirco sunt facta, ut probentur, et eligantur sancti, et dealbentur usque ad tempus praefinitum: quia in aliud tempus erat dilata victoria. Sub Antichristo parvum auxilium nostri intelligi volunt. . . P. 1130.

(e) Quod quidem et nos de Antichristo intelligimus. Porphyrius autem, et ceteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho E-

piphane dici interpretantur, quod erectus sit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiam venerit, ut in templo Hierosolymis simulachrum suum poni jufferit. Quodque sequitur: *Et diriget, donec compleatur ira, quia in ipso erit consummatio*: sic intelligunt, tam diu eum posse, donec irascatur ei Deus, et ipsum interfici jubeat. Siquidem Polybius et Diodorus, qui Bibliothecarum scribunt historias, narrant eum non solum contra Deum fecisse Judaeae, sed avaritiae facibus accensum, etiam templum Dianae in Eli-maide, quod erat ditissimum, spoliare conatum: oppressumque a custodibus templi, et vicinis circum gentibus, et quibusdam phantasiis atque terroribus versum in amentiam, ac postremum morbo in-

“ Porphyrie, and they who follow him, think it to be said of An-
 “ tiochus Epiphanes, who set up himself against the worship of
 “ God, and arrived at such pride, as to order his own statue to be
 “ set up in the temple at Jerusalem. *And shall prosper, till the in-*
 “ *dignation be accomplished.* This they understand after this manner.
 “ That he should prevail, till God is offended with him, and ap-
 “ points his death. Forasmuch as the historians, *Polybius*, and *Di-*
 “ *odorus*, relate, that he did not only oppose himself to the God of
 “ Judea, but likewise, that moved by avarice, he attempted to plun-
 “ der the temple of Diana in Elymais, which was very rich: but
 “ was hindered by the guardians of the temple, and by neighbor-
 “ ing nations: and that having been agitated by terrifying thoughts
 “ and apprehensions he became mad, and so expired. They say,
 “ this happened, because he had attempted to violate the temple of
 “ Diana. We say, if that was his end, it befell him, because he
 “ had exercised great cruelty toward the saints of God, and had pol-
 “ luted his temple. For it is more reasonable to think, that he was
 “ punished for what he had done, than for what he had only at-
 “ tempted to do, and then forbore from an apprehension of guilt.”

17. Afterwards, in his comment upon ver. 44. 45. Jerome again observes what Porphyrie said concerning the death of Antiochus, which he had collected out of divers authors: “ Which is, (f) that

U 2

“ having

interiisse. Et hoc ei accidisse commemo-
 rant, quia templum Dianae violare co-
 natus est. Nos autem dicimus, etiam si,
 accidisset ei, ideo accidisse, quia in sanc-
 tos Dei multam exercuerit crudelita-
 tem, et polluerit templum ejus. Non
 enim pro eo quod conatus est faceere, et
 acta poenitentia desivit implere, sed pro
 eo quod fecit punitus esse credendus est.
 P. 1131.

(f) Et in hoc loco Porphyrius tale nef-
 cio quid de Antiocho somniat. Pugnans,
 inquit, contra Aegyptios, et Libyas Ae-
 thiopasque pertransiens, audiet sibi ab A-
 quilone, et ab Oriente proelia concitari:
 unde et regrediens capiet Aradios resisten-
 tes. . . . *Et veniet, inquit, usque ad sum-*
mitatem ipsius montis, in Elimaide provin-
 cia, quae est ultima Persarum ad Orien-
 tem

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“ having gone into the East, when he came into the province of
 “ Elimais, the remotest countrey of the Persians lying that way :
 “ when he attempted to plunder the temple of Diana, which had
 “ in it abundance of rich offerings, he was put to flight by the bar-
 “ barians, who greatly respected that temple, and died overwhelm-
 “ ed with grief in Tabes, a city of Persia. This he writes by way
 “ of argument against us in a very artful manner. And if he could
 “ shew, that those things are said, not of Antichrist, but of Antio-
 “ chus ; what is that to us, who do not attempt to prove the com-
 “ ing of Christ, nor of his opposite, Antichrist, out of every text
 “ of Scripture ? Allowing these things to be said of Antiochus, what
 “ prejudice is that to our cause ? Rather let him set aside doubtfull
 “ things, and keep to such as are clear. Let him say, *who is that*
 “ *stone, which being cut out of the mountain without hands, should*
 “ *encrease to a great mountain, and was to fill the whole earth, and*
 “ *to break in pieces the fourfold image : and who is that Son of*
 “ *man, who is to come with the clouds, and to be brought before*
 “ *the*

tem regio : ibique volens templum Dia-
 nae spoliare, quod infinita donaria habe-
 bat, fugatus a barbaris est, qui mira ve-
 neratione fanum illud suspiciebant, et
 mortuus est moerore conceptus in Tabes,
 oppido perfidis. Haec ille in fugillatione
 nostri, artificiosissimo sermone com-
 posuit. Quae etiam si potuerit approba-
 re, non de Antichristo dicta, sed de An-
 tiocho : quid ad nos, qui non ex omnibus
 Scripturarum locis Christi probamus ad-
 ventum, et Antichristi mendacium ? Po-
 ne enim haec dici de Antiocho, quid no-
 cet religioni nostrae ? Numquid et in su-
 periori visione, ubi in Antiocho prophetia
 consummata est, aliquid de Antichristo
 dicitur ? Dimittat itaque dubia, et in ma-
 nifestis haereat : dicatque, quis sit ille

lapis, qui de monte abscissus sine mani-
 bus, creverit in montem magnum, et or-
 bem impleverit, et quadriformem imagi-
 nem contriverit : qui sit ille filius homi-
 nis, qui cum nubibus venturus sit, et sta-
 turus ante vetustum dierum, et dandum
 ei regnum, quod nullo fine claudatur :
 omnesque populi, tribus, ac linguae ipsi
 servituri sunt. Haec quae manifesta sunt
 praeterit, et de Judaeis asserit propheta-
 ri, quos usque hodie servire cognoscimus.
 Et dicit eum, qui sub nomine Danielis
 scripsit librum, ad refocillandam spem su-
 orum fuisse mentitum. Non quo omnem
 historiam futuram nosse potuerit, sed quo
 facta memoraret. Nostri autem extre-
 mum visionis hujus capitulum super Anti-
 christo sic exponunt. P. 1133.

“ the ancient of days, to whom was to be given a kingdom that has
 “ no end : and whom all people, and nations, and tongues, should
 “ serve. These things, which are manifest, he passeth over, and
 “ affirms they relate to the Jews, whom nevertheless we know to
 “ be still in bondage. And he likewise says, that he who wrote the
 “ book in the name of Daniel, told lies to please and comfort his
 “ own people. He pretended to prophesy, but indeed only wrote
 “ historie.”

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Jerome then proceeds to shew, how our people, as he says, explain the last paragraph of this vision concerning Antichrist. And then he concludes his observations upon this chapter. “ This (g)
 “ says he, I have now shewn with some prolixity, that I might expose the folly of Porphyrie, who either was ignorant of these
 “ things, or pretended not to know them, and likewise to shew the
 “ difficulty of the sacred Scriptures, which many people, and even
 “ such as are very unskilfull, pretend to understand, without the
 “ grace of God, or an acquaintance with the doctrine of our ancestors.”

Concerning the death of Antiochus, they who have opportunity may do well to consult 1 Maccabees ch. vi. and 2 Macc. ch. ix. and Josephus in his (b) Antiquities. To whom might be added (i) Polybius, not forgetting (k) the Connexion of that learned modern writer Humphrey Prideaux.

18. The begining of the twelfth chapter of the book of Daniel is in these terms. *And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people : and there shall be a time*

(g) Hoc ideo prolixius posui, ut et Porphyrii ostendam calumniam, qui haec omnia ignoravit, aut nescire se finxit : et scripturae sanctae difficultatem, cujus intelligentiam absque Dei gratia, et doctrina majorum, sibi imperitissimi vel maxime vendicant. P. 1134.

(b) L. 12. cap. ix. al. xiii.

(i) Ap. Excerpt. Valesii. p. 144.

(k) Connexion at the year before Christ. 164. p. 200.

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a time of trouble, such as never was, since there was a nation, even to that same time. And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame, and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.

“ Hitherto (1) says Jerome, Porphyrie has writ with some sort of
 “ reserve and modestie, and has imposed upon unskilfull people a-
 “ mong us, and the ill-instructed on his own side. But what can
 “ he say upon this paragraph, in which the resurrection of the dead
 “ is spoken of. . . There is nothing, which the perversnesse of men
 “ may

(1) Haëtenus Porphyrius utquumque se tenuit, et tam nostrorum imperitis, quam fuorum male eruditis, imposuit, de hoc capitulo quid dicturus est, in quo mortuorum describitur resurrectio: aliis suscitatis in vitam aeternam, et aliis in opprobrium sempiternum? . . . Sed quid non faciat pertinacia? . . . Et hoc, inquit, de Antiocho scriptum est, qui vadens in Perfidem, Lyfiae, qui Antiochiae et Phoeniciae praerat, reliquit exercitum, ut adversus Judaeos pugnaret, urbemque eorum Jerusalem subverteret: quae omnia narrat Josephus, historiae auctor Hebraeae: quod talis fuerit tribulatio, qualis nunquam: et tempus advenerit, quale non fuit, ex quo gentes esse coeperunt usque ad illud tempus. Reddita autem victoria, et caesis Antiochi ducibus, ipsoque Antiocho in Perfide mortuo, salvatus est populus Israel: omnes qui scripti in libro Dei, hoc est, qui legem fortissime defenderunt, et e contrario, qui deleti sunt de libro, hoc est, qui praevaricatores exstiterunt le-

gis, et Antiochi fuerunt partium. Tunc, ait, hi qui quasi in terrae pulvere dormiebant, et operati erant malorum pondere, et quasi in sepulchris miseriarum reconditi, ad insperatam victoriam de terrae pulvere resurrexerunt: et de humo elevaverunt caput custodes legis, resurgentes in vitam aeternam, et praevaricatores in opprobrium sempiternum. Magistri autem et doctores, qui legis notitiam habuerunt, fulgebunt quasi coelum, et qui inferiores populos exhortati sunt ad custodiendas caeremonias Dei, ad instar astrorum fulgebunt in perpetuas aeternitates. Ponit quoque historiam de Machabaeis, in qua dicitur, multos Judaeorum sub Mattathia et Juda Machabaeo ad eremum confugisse, et latuisse in speluncis, et in cavernis petrarum, ac post victoriam processisse: et haec μεταφορικώς, quasi de resurrectione mortuorum esse praedicta. Tempore autem Antichristi talem tribulationem fore, qualis nunquam fuit ex quo gentes esse coeperunt, melius intelligitur. P. 1135.

“ may not do. His explication is this. And this also is writ of A. D.
 “ Antiochus, who when he went into Persia, he left an armie with 270.
 “ Lyfias, who was Governour of Antioch and Phoenicia, that he
 “ might fight with the Jews, and destroy their city Jerusalem: all
 “ which things are related by Josephus, the Jewish historian, shew-
 “ ing, that there was then such distresse, as never had been before.
 “ But the Jews overcoming, and the Generals of Antiochus being
 “ slain, and himself having died in Persia, the people of Israel were
 “ delivered: even *all they who were written in the book of God*, that
 “ is, who had valiantly stood up for the law. On the contrarie, they
 “ were *blotted out of the book*, who had apostatised from the law, and
 “ joyned the interest of Antiochus. Then, says he, they who, as
 “ it were, *slept in the dust of the earth*, and were covered over with
 “ the weight of affliction, and were, as it were, buried in sepulchres,
 “ rose out of the *dust of the earth* to unexpected victorie. The keep-
 “ ers of the law lifted up their heads out of the ground, rising to
 “ eternal life: and the apostates from it to *everlasting contempt*. The
 “ masters and teachers, who understood the law, *will shine as the*
 “ *firmament*, and they who had exhorted the lower orders of the
 “ people to keep God’s ordinances, *will shine as the stars for ever*
 “ *and ever*. He also allegeth the historie of the Maccabees, in which
 “ it is said, that many of the Jews fled into the deserts, and hid
 “ themselves in caves, and holes of the rocks, and after the victorie
 “ came out. This, he says, is expresse metaphoricallly, as if it were
 “ a resurrection from the dead.”

1 Macc.
 ii. 28. 29.
 2 Macc.
 viii. 1.

But Jerome says, that the tribulations here spoken of are better understood of the times of Antichrist.

Grotius, however, does not altogether reject Porphyrie’s * inter-pretation.

19.

* *Et multi de his qui dormiunt in terrae multi qui cubarunt in pulverulenta humo ex-pulvere evigilabunt.] Bene veritas: Et surgent. Id est, qui ob religionem ejecti urbe,*

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19. . . Ver. 7. *And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand, and his left hand to heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, that it shall be for time, times, and a half.*

Upon which Jerome observes: “ This (*m*) *time, and times, and half a time*, Porphyrie interprets, as meaning three years and a half. Nor do we deny this to be agreeable to the stile of Scripture. And Porphyrie, referring this to Antiochus, says, that by his means the temple was deserted for three years and a half. But, says Jerome, Josephus and the book of Maccabees, mention no more than three years, during which space the temple was defiled, and the image of Jupiter stood there by the order of Antiochus Epiphanes. Therefore, as Jerome adds, that space of three years and a half relates not to Antiochus, but to Antichrist.” Of this I may take some farther notice hereafter. At present we proceed.

20. Same

urbe, oppidis, vicis et villis, non habuerunt ubi caput reponerent, (ut Christus de se loquitur, Lucae ix. 58.) redibunt in urbem et alia loca habitata. Reddendum est Porphyrio quod ei debetur testimonium: Est enim hunc locum optime interpretatus de iis qui ob legis cultum diu extorres ad sua redire: sic tamen ut voces mira arte ita sint temperatae, ut resurrectionis mysterium, quod aperte ante Evangelium revelari non debuit, innuant potius quam explicent. Nihil potuit dici verius.

Alii in vitam aeternam.] Sensus primus hic est. *Illi quidem* [censurgent] *ad vitam longam*, quâ Deus eos donabit ob constantiam et mala tolerata. &c. *Grot. ad locum.*

(*m*) Tempus, et tempora, et dimidium temporis, tres et semis annos interpretatur Porphyrius: quod et nos juxta scripturarum sanctarum idioma non negamus. . . . Si itaque superiora refert Porphyrius ad Antiochum, et ad tres et semis annos, quibus templum dicit desertum. . . . Legimus in Machabaeorum libris. Josephus quoque in eandem consentit sententiam, quod tribus annis templum pollutum fuerit in Jerusalem, et in eo Jovis idolum steterit sub Antiocho Epiphane. . . . Sub Antichristo autem non tres anni, sed tres et semis, hoc est, mille, ducenti nonaginta dies, desolationis templi sancti, et eversionis futurae esse dicuntur. *P. 1136. et 1133. bis.*

20. Same ver. 7. *And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.*

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“ That (n) is, says Jerome, When the people of God shall be dispersed in the persecution of Antiochus, as Porphyrie will have it :
“ or, in the time of Antichrist, as our people truly shew, then all
“ these things shall be fulfilled ††.”

21. Ver. 11. *And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.*

“ These (p) thousand, two hundred and ninety days, Porphyrie
“ says, were fulfilled in the time of Antiochus, and in the desolation
“ on of the temple : whereas Josephus and the book of Maccabees,
“ as before said, mention three years only. Whence it is manifest,
“ that the three years and a half are to be understood of the times
“ of Antichrist, who will persecute the saints for three years and a
“ half, that is, a thousand two hundred and ninety days.”

So writes Jerome, not considering, that three years and a half, computing 360 days to a year, make no more than twelve hundred and sixty days. To which are added thirty days in the number, one thousand,

(n) Quando, inquit, populus Dei dispersus fuerit, vel Antiocho persequente, ut vult Porphyrius : vel Antichristo, ut nostri verius probant, tunc haec omnia complebuntur. P. 1133. bis.

†† Et cum completa fuerit dispersio manus populi sancti.] Id est, cum maxime extra urbes et vicos per agros sparsi erunt pii Judaei. Vide 1 Maccab. ii. 29. 2 Mac. viii. 1. Grot. in loc.

(p) Hos mille, ducentos, nonaginta

dies, Porphyrius in tempore Antiochi, et in desolatione templi dicit completos : quem et Josephus et Machabaeorum (ut diximus) liber, tribus tantum annis fuisse commemorant. Ex quo perspicuum est tres ipsos, et semis annos, de Antichristi dici temporibus, qui tribus et semis annis, hoc est, mille, ducentis, nonaginta diebus sanctos persecuturus est. . . . P. 1133. bis.

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thousand, two hundred and ninety days. Which, possibly might be accounted for, without any very great difficulty *.

22. Ver. 12. *Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.*

“ Porphyrie (*q*) says, that the five and forty days over and above
“ the one thousand two hundred and ninety, shew the time of the
“ victorie gained over the Generals of Antiochus: when Judas, the
“ Maccabee, fought valiantly, and cleansed the temple, broke the
“ idol in pieces, and offered sacrifices in the temple. Which might
“ be rightly said, if the book of Maccabees had related that the
“ temple was polluted three years and a half, and not three years.”

So writes Jerome. But this additional number of *five and forty days* may be understood to reach to the time of the death of Antiochus, when the deliverance of the Jewish people would be completed, and their tranquility farther secured ††.

Jerome, as we have seen, insists upon the term of *three years*, mentioned by Josephus, and the book of the Maccabees. And indeed Josephus, in (*r*) one place computes the time of the desolation of the temple, as said by Jerome, at *three years*. In other places (*s*) he

* *dies mille ducenti nonaginta.*] Jam designatius ostendit dies aliquot excursuros ultra triennium et semestrem tempus, post quod totum tempus, et non diutius, cessabit ὁ ἐνδελεχισμός, *sacrificium jure*. In eo tempore comprehenditur etiam collocatio idoli vastantis in templo. Vide quae diximus, vii. 25. *Grot. in loc.*

(*q*) Porphyrius hunc locum ita edisserit, ut quadraginta quinque dies, qui super mille ducentos nonaginta sunt, victoriae contra duces Antiochi tempus significant: quando Judas Machabaeus fortiter dimi-

cavit, et emundavit templum, idolumque contrivit, et victimas obtulit in templo Dei. Quod recte diceret, si Machabaeorum liber tribus et semis annis templum scriberet esse pollutum, et non tribus. *P. 1134. bis.*

†† *Ad dies mille trecentos triginta quinque.*] Ad mortem usque Antiochi, indicatam supra. xi. 45. quo tempore Judaei non malis tantum, sed et omni malorum metu levabantur. *Grot. in loc.*

(*r*) *Antiq. l. 12. cap. x. al. cap. 7. §. 6.*

(*s*) . . . κατὰ χρόνον ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μηνὶν ἕξ. *De B. Jud. Pr. §. 7.*

. . . αὐτὸς

he mentions *three years and a half*. According to different computations of the begining and ending of the troubles of the Jewish people, the numbers may vary a little, without any detriment to the true (t) historie. Prideaux has shewn largely, as well from the books of the Maccabees, as from Josephus, that (u) the desolation of the temple, happened just three years and six months, before it was again restored by Judas Maccabeus. “ And therefore that restoration
 “ having been made (x) on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month
 “ of the Jews, called *Cisleu*, in the 148. year of the aera of the Seleucidae: it follows, that the time of this desolation must have
 “ been in or about the twenty fifth day of their third month, called
 “ *Sivan*, in the aera of the Seleucidae 145. Which answers to the
 “ year before Christ 168. Then it was, that by the command of
 “ Antiochus, and the wicked agence of Apollonius, the daily sacrifices, whereby God was honoured every morning and evening at
 “ Jerusalem, were made to cease, and the temple turned into desolation.”

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At the end of that period of three years and a half the temple was cleansed, and dedicated by Judas Maccabeus: and an annual feast of eight days was appointed in memorie of that deliverance, as related 1 Macc. iv. 36. . . to the end, and 2 Macc. ch. x. and by Josephus (y). Which feast was still observed by the Jews at Jerusalem, in our Saviour's time, as we learn from the (z) Gospels.

X 2

IV.

... αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησε, καὶ τὸν ἐνδεδεικ-
 χειρισμὸν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐναγισμαῶν ἔπαυσεν ἐπ' ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. *De B. J. l. i. c. 1. in.*

(t) Quorum omnium facilis est conciliatio. Stetit enim in templo Idolum tribus annis non amplius. Ab urbe vero capta et interdictis ritibus sex praeterea menses effluxerant, cum diebus paucis, qui nu-

meri rotundi gratiâ negliguntur. *Aldrich. ad Joseph. De B. J. l. 1. cap. 1. §. 1.*

(u) Year before Christ 168. *Conn. P. 2. B. 3. p. 175.*

(x) 1 Mac. i. 59. iv. 52. 54. 2 Mac. x. 5.

(y) *Antiq. l. 12. c. x. al. vii. sub fin.*

(z) *John x. 22.*

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*Remarks
upon Por-
phyrie's
Objections*

IV. I shall now make some Observations upon the preceding objections, and the Answers made to them.

I. From what has been now transcribed from St. Jerome we may be able to form some notion of the nature of that part of Porphyrie's work, so far as it related to the book of Daniel. We may likewise, be able to discern some defects in the answers, which were made to it by Christian Writers.

Says Dr. *Prideaux*: "The (a) prophecies of Daniel concerning
" the Persian Kings, and the Macedonians, that reigned as well in
" Egypt, as Asia, having been all, according to the best historians,
" exactly fulfilled, Porphyrie could not disprove them by denying
" their completion. And therefore for overthrowing their authori-
" ty, he took the quite contrary course, and labored to prove their
" truth: and thence argued, that being so exactly true in all parti-
" culars, they could not be written by Daniel, so many years be-
" fore the facts were done, but by some one else under his name,
" who lived after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. For which end
" and purpose he made use of the best Greek historians then extant.
" Such were Callinicus Suctorius, Diodorus Siculus, . . . and from
" them made evident proof, that all that is written in the eleventh
" chapter of Daniel was truly, in every particular acted and done in
" the order as there related. And from this exactness of comple-
" tion endeavored to infer the assertion before mentioned: that these
" prophecies were written after the facts were done: and therefore
" are rather historical narratives, relating things past, than prophe-
" tical predictions, foreshewing things afterwards to come." . . .
" Jerome (b) and Porphyrie agree in their explication of the eleventh
" chapter of Daniel, till they come to the 21. verse. But what fol-
" lows thence to the end of the chapter, was all explained by Por-
" phyrie

(a) *Connexion. P. 2. B. 3. year before Christ 164. p. 206.*

(b) *Ib. p. 207. 208.*

“ phyrie to belong to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and to have been all
 “ transacted in his reign. But Jerome here differs from him, and
 “ saith, that most of this, as well as some parts of the viii. and xii.
 “ chapters of the same book relate principally to *Antichrist*: that
 “ though some particulars in those prophecies had a typical comple-
 “ tion in Antiochus Epiphanes; yet they were all of them wholly
 “ and ultimately fulfilled only in Antichrist. And this, as he saith,
 “ was the general sense of the Fathers of the Christian Church in
 “ his time.”

But what need was there to bring in Antichrist, in any answers to *Porphyrie*, or other Heathen adversaries? Some, as (c) Grotius did, may think this one defect in our ancient Apologists. Those prophecies of Daniel, relating to Antiochus, and the state of the Jews in his time, were punctually fulfilled. Porphyrie himself shewed, that all recorded relating to him, was exactly true. He proved it from the best authors, exstant at that time. The Christians might thank him for it, and stand to their point, that all this was not historie, but prophetic, formerly delivered. And historie had shewn the accomplishment. The predictions were so clear, and the fulfilment so manifest, that as Jerome well said in his preface to his Commentarie upon this book, *a determined adversarie was compelled to say, that the book of Daniel was not a prophetic of things to come, but a narrative of what had already happened. Which kind of opposition, as he added, was a confession of truth, and testimonie to it.* And as all things foretold concerning Antiochus were fulfilled, so likewise were the prophecies of the same book concerning the coming of the Messiah.

(c) Inter Graecos autem ad sensum horum vaticiniorum proxime accessit Polychronius, Porphyrii lector diligens, et Chrysostomus. Bene autem intelligi haec vaticinia refert plurimum: primum ut eo lucidius appareat Dei providentia et praescientia: deinde ne prava interpretatio,

tempora confundens, impediatur Judaeos Messiae tempora agnoscere. Quod vel maxime ii faciunt, qui quae de Antiocho Illustri dicta sensum habent manifestum, ad Antichristum trahunt, ut Hippolytus, multique alii. *Grot. Pr. ad Daniel.*

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fiah. And if there were in it predictions of things after his appearance, and in late ages of the world, the fulfilment might be safely expected and relied upon.

2. Porphyrie was in the wrong to deny (*d*) the genuinnesse of the book of Daniel. Which had been always received by the Jews: as we perceive from the books of Maccabees, and Josephus, and from our Evangelists: not now to mention any later writers. To dispute the real age of Daniel, and the genuinnesse of his book, is arbitrarie, and unreasonable: as if a man should deny that Virgil and Horace lived in the time of Augustus, or wrote those works which with general consent are ascribed to them, and received as theirs. The book of Daniel is as genuine, as any of those histories, which Porphyrie made use of in his work against the Christians.

3. Porphyrie, as we have seen in Jerome, said, that the book of Daniel could not be genuine, because it was writ in Greek. This he argued from some Greek words in the historie of Susanna, and other spurious things, added to the book of Daniel.

Upon this argument I must say, *first*, that it is a very weak argument, because those stories of *Susanna*, *Bel*, and the *Dragon*, never were received by the Jews, nor by learned men among Christians. If Porphyrie did not know this, it shews great ignorance. But *se-*

(*d*) . . . cujus ille auctoritatem ut eluderet, scriptos dixit libros post eventum. Quod quam fit impudens, alibi diximus. *Grot. Pr. ad Daniel.*

A Daniele vero translatio imperii ab Assyriis ad Medos ac Persas, (significata,) inde ad Alexandrum Macedonem: cujus deinde ex parte successores forent Lagidae, et Seleucidae: quaeque mala populus Hebraeus ab his omnibus, maxime vero ab Antiocho Illustri, accepturus esset, adeo perspicue, ut Porphyrius, qui

historias Graecas, suo adhuc tempore exstantes, cum vaticiniis istis contulit, aliter se expedire non potuerit, quam ut diceret ea, quae Danieli tribuebantur, post eventum fuisse scripta. Quod perinde est, quasi quis neget, quae sub Virgilii nomine exstant, et pro Virgilianis habita sunt semper, ab ipso scripta Augusti aevo. Non enim de isto, quod dicimus, magis unquam dubitatum inter Hebraeos fuit, quam de hoc apud Romanos. *Grot. de V. R. C. l. i. cap. 17.*

secondly, I imagine, he did know this, and that, according to the tradition of Jews, and Christians, before his time, the book of Daniel was writ in Hebrew, excepting some parts of it in Chaldee. Consequently, this argument was unfair, and was owing to want of candour: and formed only to impose upon ignorant and uninstructed men. This, indeed, I take to be the case.

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4. By the *Queen* mentioned Dan. v. 10. Porphyrie, as we learn from Jerome, understood the wife of Belshazzar. Which must be a mistake, as is now allowed by all learned men in general, and was shewn by Jerome himself. Says Prideaux: "The (e) Queen that entered the banqueting-house, to direct the King to call for Daniel, could not be his wife. For all his wives and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him at the feast. [Ver. 2.] And therefore it must have been *Nitocris*, the Queen-mother, a Lady famous for her wisdom, who had the chief management of public affairs, and is called the Queen by way of eminence." *Nitocris*, as it seems, was a Lady of too much gravity, and too much engaged about public affairs, to take part in that entertainment.

This then is an error, at the best. But I do not think it to be an innocent error. I rather think it to have been a designed, and wilfull misrepresentation. *When the Queen came into the banquet-house, she said to Belshazzar: O King live for ever. Let not thy thoughts trouble thee... There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods: and in the days of thy father [or grandfather] light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods was found in him...* and what follows. ver. 10... 12. This did not please Porphyrie. It afforded an argument for the real age and peculiar wisdom, and prophetic character of Daniel. The real truth therefore did not suit Porphyrie. This therefore I consider, as an unfair argument, and another instance of want of candour. We may be the more

(e) *Connexion*. P. i. B. 2. Vol. i. p. 122. year before Christ 539. See likewise *Grotius*, and *Lowth* upon the place.

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more confirmed in this supposition, in that, as Jerome says, *Porphyrie ridiculed the Queen for pretending to know more than her husband.* There is no foundation for ridicule in the historie itself.

5. Ch. ii. ver. 48. *Then the King made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts.* Here, as we before learned from Jerome, *Porphyrie took upon him to blame Daniel for not refusing those gifts, and for readily accepting Babylonish honours.* But there is no ground for such a censure. Daniel was guilty of no mean compliances. He ascribed all his wisdom to God. And upon every occasion preserved his integrity, without blemish, and openly professed his zeal for true religion, and the worship of God, according to the directions of the law of Moses. It was not decent for him to refuse the honours bestowed by a great King, when no sinful compliances were exacted, and when he might, in the high station, to which he was advanced, both promote the interest of true religion, and the welfare of his people in a strange countrey. Daniel does not appear to have been fond of worldly honours. When Belshazzar made him great promises, he answered: *Let thy gifts be to thy-self, and give thy rewards to another.* Ch. v. 17. That remark therefore I consider, as an instance of Porphyrie's malignant temper toward Daniel, and in him, toward Christians.

6. I shall add no more observations here. I have again and again acknowledged, that Porphyrie's work against the Christians, was a work of great labour, in which he shewed great learning. And it might have been of some use to us now, if it had been preserved. At the same time, it appears to me very probable, that there were in it many mistakes, and many instances of want of candour. And I make no doubt, but that, if it were still extant, it would appear to us very provoking and offensive, as it did to the Christians in former times, who saw and read it.

7. Dan. xi. 38. *But in his estate shall he honor the God of forces, or munitions.*

In

In his commentarie upon the 30. chapter of Isaiah, Jerome (*f*) blames Porphyrie for rendring this, *the god of the town of Modim*, meaning the god, who was worshiped there. However, curious readers should consult Grotius, as well as Lowth upon that text.

8. Jerome seems to say elsewhere, that (*g*) Porphyrie had writ largely about Daniel's seventy weeks. If he intends any thing beside what I have already taken notice of, I know nothing of it.

V. Having made such large extracts out of Jerome's Commentarie on the book of Daniel, for shewing the nature of that part of Porphyrie's work, I now proceed to other things.

*Of the
Antiquity
of Moses.*

In the first book of his Evangelical Preparation (*h*) Eusebius exposing the absurdity of the Heathen polytheism, which had long prevailed in the world, which, as he says, having been first introduced among the Phenicians, and Egyptians, had been propagated among the Greeks, and other nations: This, he says, he will shew, begining with the Phenicians.

“ Their affairs are writ by Sanchuniathon, an ancient Author,
“ older, as is said, than the Trojan times: Who, they say, has
“ writ the Phenician historie with great exactnesse and fidelity. Phi-
“ lo, not the Jew, but Biblius, has translated his whole work into
“ Greek out of the Phenician language. He (*i*) is quoted by that
“ person,

(*f*) Hoc annotavimus, ut quod in Danielis extrema legimus Visione Deum Maözim, non ut Porphyrius somniat *Deum viculi modim*, sed *robustum Deum et fortem* intelligamus. *In Is. cap. xxx. T. 3. p. 252. m.*

(*g*) Sin autem supradictos viros, magistros Ecclesiae nominavi, illud intelligant, me non omnium probare fidem, qui certe inter se contrarii sunt: sed et distinctio-

nem Josephi, Porphyriique dixisse, qui de hac quaestione plurima disputarunt. *Praef. in libr. xi. Comment. in Is. T. 3. p. 283.*

(*h*) *Pr. Ev. l. i. cap. 9. p. 30. 31.*

(*i*) Μέμνηται τέτων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιημένος συσκευὴν, ἐν τετάρτῳ τῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑποθέσεως, ὃ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυρῶν πρὸς λέξιν. Ἴσoreῖ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀληθέστατα, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ συ-
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“ person, who in our time wrote against us, in the fourth book of his
 “ work, in these very words. Sanchuniathon of Berytus writes the
 “ historie of the Jews very exactly, and mentions times and places :
 “ taking his accounts from the Memoirs of Jerombal, Priest of the God
 “ Jevo. Who dedicated his historie to Abibal, King of Berytus, by
 “ whom, as well as by others, his contemporaries, capable judges of the
 “ truth, it was approved. Their age was before the Trojan times,
 “ and approaches near to the times of Moses, as is evident from the
 “ succession of the Kings of Phenicia. Sanchuniathon, who with great
 “ fidelity, wrote their ancient historie in the Phenician language, col-
 “ lecting it partly from the registers of cities, and partly from the
 “ records kept in temples, lived in the time of Semiramis, Queen
 “ of the Assyrians, who is computed to have reigned before the
 “ times of Troy, or about them. The Work of Sanchuniathon was
 “ translated into Greek by Philo Byblius.” “ So writes that per-
 “ son, bearing testimonie to the veracity and antiquity of that histo-
 “ rian.”

But, as Eusebius adds : “ That ancient writer (k) in the progresse
 “ of his work, does not recommend the worship of God who is
 “ over all, nor of the heavenly bodies, but of mortal men and wo-
 “ men : who so far from being respectable for the probity of their
 “ manners,

μωνότατα, Σαγχουνιάθων ὁ Βηρύτιος, ἐπιληφὼς
 τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ἱερομβάλε τῷ ἱερέως θεῷ
 τῷ Ἰεὺ. ὃς Ἀβιβάλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Βηρυτίαν τὴν
 ἱστορίαν ἀναθεὶς ὑπ' ἐκένου καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐξε-
 τασῶν τῆς ἀληθείας, παρεδέχθη. Ὅι δὲ τέ-
 των χρόνοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν πίπτουσι χρόνων,
 καὶ σχεδὸν τοῖς Μωσέως πλησιάζουσιν, ὥς αἱ τῶν
 Φοινίκης βασιλέων μνηύουσι διαδοχαί. Σαγ-
 χουνιάθων δὲ κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκων διάλεκτον, φιλα-
 λήθως τὴν παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν
 ὑπομνημάτων, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν
 συναγαγὼν καὶ συγγράψας, ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως γέ-
 χοι τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλίδος, ἢ πρὸ τῶν Ἰλια-

κῶν, ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν γε χρόνους γενέσθαι ἀναγέ-
 γραπται. κ. λ. Praep. Ev. l. i. p. 30.
 31.

(k) Ὁ δὲ προῖων ἐν τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῶν,
 ἐδὲ μὴν τὰς κατ' ἑρανὸν, θνητὸς δὲ ἀνδρας καὶ
 γυναῖκας, οὐδε τὸν τρόπον ἀσέβης, οὐκ δὲ ἀρε-
 τὴν ἀξίον εἶναι ἀποδέξασθαι, ἢ ζηλῶσαι τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας, φαυλότητος δὲ καὶ μοχθηρίας ἀπά-
 σης κακίαν περιβεβλημένος θεολογῇ. Καὶ μαρ-
 τυρεῖ γε τέτοις αὐτὸς ἐκείνους εἶναι, τὸς εἰσέτι
 νῦν θεὸς παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι νενομισμένους κατὰ τὰς
 πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας. Ib. p. 31.

“manners, or the excellence of their virtues, or their great wisdom,
 “which might recommend them to esteem and imitation, that their
 “characters are blemished with the most foul and flagitious vices.
 “And they appear to be the very same, that are now worshiped as
 “Gods in all cities and countreys.”

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The same passage of Porphyrie is quoted again by Eusebius in the ninth chapter of the tenth book of the same work, the Evangelical Preparation. He there introduceth it, and argueth from it after this manner.

His subject in that place is the antiquity of Moses, and the Jewish Prophets. He first refers to his Chronical Canons, where he had already shewed the same thing. “Now, says (l) he, to what was
 “then said, I would add here the testimonie of the most bitter ene-
 “mie to the Jews and us, that ever was. I mean that Philosopher
 “of our time, who in the abundance of his enmity against us, pub-
 “lished a work, in which he reviles not us only, but also the Jews,
 “and Moses, and the Prophets after him, and all in the like man-
 “ner. For the confession of enemies is always reckoned credible.
 “Porphyrie, then, in the fourth book of his work against us says
 “in these very words: *Sanchuniathon of Berytus writes the historie*
 “*of the Jews very exactly.*” So quoting the passage before tran-
 scribed by me at length. After which Eusebius proceeds: “Upon
 “(m) which we may argue in this manner. If Sanchuniathon flou-
 “rished in the time of Semiramis, and she lived long before the
 “times of Troy; it follows, that Sanchuniathon was older than the

Y 2

“same

(l) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀποδεικτικῶς ἐν τοῖς πο-
 νηθεῖσιν ἡμῖν χρονικοῖς κανόσιν ἔτι εἶχοντα συ-
 νέει. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ παρόντος, πρὸς τοῖς ἐξημέ-
 νοις, μάρτυρι τῆς Μωσέως ἀρχαιότητος χρήσο-
 μαι τῶ πάντων δυσμενεστάτῳ καὶ πολεμιοτάτῳ
 Ἑβραίων τε καὶ ἡμῶν· φημὶ δὲ τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς φι-
 λασόφῳ, ὃς τὴν καθ’ ἡμῶν συσκευὴν ὑπερβολῇ

μίσους προβεβλημένος, οὐ μόνον ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 Ἑβραίους, αὐτὸν τε Μωσέα, καὶ τὸς μετ’ αὐτοῦ
 προφῆτας ταῖς ἴσαις ὑπεργάγετο βλασφημίαις.
 Διὰ γὰρ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὁμολογίας ἀναμφηρίσ-
 τως ἡγῆμαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν πιστέσθαι. Pr.
 Ev. l. 10. p. 484. 485.

(m) Ib. p. 485.

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“ same times. But he is said to have taken his memoirs from o-
“ thers, who were before his times : and who were not contempo-
“ raries with Moses, but only lived near his times. It follows,
“ that Sanchuniathon is still so much later than Moses, as he is la-
“ ter than those of greater antiquity, who only lived near the times
“ of Moses.”

This passage of Porphyrie is also cited by (n) Theodoret in his books against the Gentils, and as from his work writ against us. He likewise quotes it in proof of the antiquity of Moses, and that he lived before the times of Troy.

And Eusebius in his introduction to the second book of his Chronical Canon, as we now have it in Jerome's Latin translation, says :
“ The (o) antiquity of Moses is asserted by many of our own wri-
“ ters, and among the Jews by Josephus, and Justus, and among
“ the Greeks, [or Gentils] the impious Porphyrie in the fourth book
“ of his work, which with fruitless labour he composed against us,
“ affirms, that Moses was older than Semiramis.”

An Ob-
jection a-
gainst
Gen. iii.
5.

VI. Severian, Bishop of Gatala in Syria, at the begining of the fifth centurie, in his sixth homilie upon the Creation of the world, having quoted Gen. iii. 5. *For God does know, that in the day ye eat thereof ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil*, goes on. “ Many
“ (p) say, and especially they who follow that enemy of God, Por-
“ phyrie, who wrote against the Christians, and has perverted many
“ from the truth : Why did God forbid the knowledge of good and
“ evil !

(n) Gr. Aff. l. 2. T. 4. p. 493.

(o) . . . ex Judaeis Josephus et Justus veteris historiae monumenta replicantes. Ex Ethnicis vero impius ille Porphyrius, in quarto Operis sui libro, quod adversum nos casso labore contexuit, post Moysem Semiramim fuisse affirmat. Chr. Can. p. 54.

(p) Λέγουσι πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῷ θεῷ συ-
γχεῖ Πορφύριον ἀκλεθήσαντες, τῷ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν συγγραφεύ, καὶ τῷ θεῷ δόγματος πολλὰς ἀποστήσαντι. κ. λ. Sever. de Mundī Cr. hom. 6. ap. Chrys. T. 6. p. 498.

“evil! He might forbid evil. But why should he forbid good?” Severian answers, that God did not forbid the knowledge of good, and that Adam had that knowledge, before he tasted of the forbidden fruit.

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VII. I now proceed to passages of Porphyrie, concerning the books of the New Testament.

*Passages
concerning
the Books
of the N.
T.*

Mill, in his (*) Prolegomena to the New Testament has taken notice of several texts in the Gospels, to which Porphyrie made exceptions.

I. Matt. i. 11. 12. *And Josias begat Jechonias, and his brethren, about the time they were carried away to Babylon. And after they were brought to Babylon, Jechonias begat Salathiel.* Matt. i.

Here, as it seems, one and the same person, Jechonias, ends the second fourteen, and begins the third class of fourteen. Consequently one generation was supposed to be wanting. Porphyrie (q) therefore, as we learn from Jerome, charged St. Matthew with a mistake. But Jerome says, that Porphyrie herein betrayed his own ignorance and unskilfulness.

It is not needful, that I should attempt the solution of this difficulty. It is sufficient, that I refer (r) to some learned editors of the New Testament, or Commentators upon this text.

But we can hence clearly argue, that in Porphyrie's time, the genealogie in St. Matthew was generally received by Christians. Otherwise

(*) Vid. Prolegom. num. 702. 703.

(q) Et ob hanc causam in Evangelio secundum Matthaeum una videtur deesse generatio: quia secunda *τεσσαράκοντας* in Joacim definit filio Josiae, et tertia incipit a Joachim filio Joacim. Quod ignorans Porphyrius, calumniam struit Eccle-

siae, suam ostendens imperitiam, dum Evangelistae Matthaei arguere nititur falsitatem. Hieron. in Dan. cap. i. ver. 1. Tom. 3. p. 1075. Confer. idem in Matt. Cap. i. Tom. 4. p. 7.

(r) Mill. in loc. et Prolegom. num. 702. et Wetsten. et Bez. in loc.

A. D. 270. wife there had been no reason, why he should make any remark upon it. For as Jerome observes, Porphyrie mentioned this supposed error of the Evangelist, as a reflexion upon the Church.

Matt. ix. 2. *Matt. ix. 9. And as Jesus passed out thence, he saw a man named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom. And he saith unto him: Follow me. And he arose and followed him.*

“ Here (s) says Jerome, Porphyrie, and the Emperour Julian, pretend, that either the historian has told a lye: or else people were very silly to follow Jesus at his call: acting as if they were ready to follow any man that beckoned to them. Not considering, says Jerome, that before this time many great miracles and signs had been done by Jesus: of which the Apostles were witnesses, before they believed.”

Matt. xiii. 3. *Matt. xiii. 35. That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, saying: I will open my mouth in parables.*

That is a reference to Ps. lxxviii. 2. which is entitled a Psalm of Asaph. In some copies of St. Matthew, where we have *by the Prophet*, was read *by the Prophet Isaiab*. This gave an occasion to an objection of Porphyrie, which we meet with in the *Breviarum upon the Psalter*, generally ascribed to Jerome, but not reckoned his by the Benedictin editors. “ It (t) is not Isaiab that says this, but Asaph, says that writer. Therefore the impious Porphyrie allegeth this against us, and says: Your Evangelist Matthew was so ignorant as to say: Which was written by the prophet Isaiab: *I will open* “ my

(s) Arguit in hoc loco Porphyrius et Julianus Augustus vel imperitiam historici mentientis, vel stultitiam eorum, qui statim sequuti sunt Salvatorem, quasi irrationabiliter quemlibet vocantem hominem sequuti: quum tantae virtutes, tantaque signa praecefferint, quae apostolos antequam crederent, vidisse, non dubium est. *Hier. in loc. T. 4. P. i. p. 30.*

(t) Hoc Isaias non loquitur, sed Asaph. Denique, et impius Porphyrius proponit adversum nos hoc ipsum, et dicit: Evangelista vester Matthaeus tam imperitus fuit, ut diceret, quod scriptum est per Isaiam prophetam. . . . *Breviarium in Psalt. ap. Hieron. T. 2. P. 2. p. 316.*

" my mouth in parables : I will utter things kept secret from the foundation of the world."

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This various reading was observed by Jerome in his comment upon Matt. xiii. 35. who has considered the difficulty, though he does not mention Porphyrie. He (u) thinks the original reading was thus : *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Asaph*, by whom that Psalm was composed. But some transcriber of St. Matthew, not recollecting *Asaph* to have been a prophet, and imagining therefore that it was a mistake, inserted the name of *Isaiab*, who was better known, in his room.

They who are curious, and have leisure, should by all means consult Mill and Wetstein upon Matt. xiii. 35. where they will observe some other quotations of ancient authors, which I have not room to transcribe.

4. Upon Gen. i. 10. Jerome says : " It (x) is to be noted, that all collections of waters, whether they are salt or sweet, are called seas, according to the Hebrew language. Porphyrie therefore without ground insinuates, that the Evangelists, the better to impose a miracle upon ignorant people say, *Our Lord walked upon the sea*, meaning only the lake of Gennesareth. For all lakes, or collection of waters, are called seas."

Matt.
xiv. 24,
25.

This is related Matt. xiv. 25. *Jesus went unto them walking on the sea*. The same expression is used on the same occasion, Mark vi. 48.

(u) Sed mihi videtur a principio ita editum : *Quod scriptum est per Asaph prophetam, dicentem*. Septuagesimus enim septimus Psalmus, de quo hoc sumtum est testimonium, Asaph prophetae titulo inscribitur : et primum scriptorem non intellexisse Asaph, et putasse scriptoris vitium, atque emendasse nomen Isajae, cujus vocabulum manifestius est. *Hieron. in Matt. xiii. T. 4. p. 58.*

(x) Notandum, quod omnis congrega-

tio aquarum five falsae sint, five dulces, juxta idioma linguae Hebraeae, maria nuncupantur. Frustra igitur Porphyrius Evangelistas ad faciendum ignorantibus miraculum, eo quod Dominus super mare ambulaverit, pro lacu Gennesareth, mare appellasse calumniatur : quum omnis lacus et aquarum congregatio mare nuncupentur. *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen. T. 2. p. 509.*

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48. and John vi. 19. Jerome says, that Porphyrie upon this account *calumniated the Evangelists*. Whether he referred to more than one of them, I do not determine. But we shall soon find, that Porphyrie had read St. Mark's, and St. John's Gospels, as well as St. Matthew's.

Matt.
xxi.

5. Matt. xxi. 21. *Jesus answered, and said unto them: If ye have faith, and doubt not; ye shall not only do this, which is done to the fig-tree, but also, if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, it shall be done.*

Here St. Jerome says: "The (y) dogs of the Gentils bark against us in the volumes, which they have left as monuments of their own impiety, saying: It is plain, the Apostles had not faith, forasmuch as they never removed mountains."

Such observations may tend to produce mirth. But it is very silly to understand such figurative expressions literally.

Jerome does not name the persons to whom he refers. But it is likely, that he means Porphyrie and Julian, they having been both before mentioned in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew. If he does not intend them, there were other writers against us, who had remarked upon this expression.

Matt.
xxiv. 15.

6. Matt. xxiv. 15. *When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel standing in the holy place.*

Jerome * in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew, lets us know, that Porphyrie in the 13. volume of his work against the Christians, poured out many blasphemies upon that text.

Matt.
xxvii.

7. Matt. xxvii. 45. *Now from the sixth hour there was darknesse over all the land unto the ninth hour.*

Upon

(y) Latrant contra nos Gentiles canes in suis voluminibus, quae in impietatis propriae memoriam reliquerunt, asserentes, apostolos non habuisse fidem, quia montes transferre non potuerint. In Matt. xxi. 21. *Ib. p. 99.*

* De hoc loco, id est, de abominatione desolationis, quae dicta est a Daniele Propheta stante in loco sancto, multa Porphyrius tertio decimo operis sui volumine contra nos blasphemavit. Hieron. in Matt. T. 4. p. 115.

Upon which text Jerome observes: "They (z) who have writ a-
 " gainst the Gospels suspect, that the disciples of Christ, in their ac-
 " count of our Lord's resurrection, have mistaken this darknesse,
 " which was only an eclipse of the sun, that happens at certain sea-
 " sons, in the ordinarie course of things: Whereas, says Jerome,
 " an eclipse of the sun can never happen but at the time of new
 " moon. And all the world knows, that at the Passover it is full
 " moon. And that there might be no pretense for saying, that this
 " darknesse was owing to the shadow of the earth, or to an inter-
 " position of the moon between us and the sun, it is recorded to have
 " continued for the space of three hours."

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Here also, it is not unlikely, that Jerome intends the same writers, beforementioned, Porphyrie and Julian:

8. Upon Matth. iii. 3. *This is he that was spoken of by the Pro-* *Mark i.*
1. 2. 3.
phet Esaias, saying: The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Pre-
pare ye the way of the Lord. Make his paths straight.

Here Jerome observes, to this purpose. "Porphyrie (a) compares
 " this place with the begining of Mark's Gospel, in which it is writ-
 " ten. *The begining of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God. As*
 " *it is written in the Prophets: Behold, I send my messenger before*
 " *thy*

(z) Qui scripserunt contra Evangelia, suspicantur, deliquium solis, quod certis statutisque temporibus accidere solet, discipulos Christi ob imperitiam super resurrectione Domini interpretatos: quum defectus solis numquam nisi ortu lunae fieri soleat. Nulli autem dubium est, Paschae tempore lunam fuisse plenissimam. Et ne forsitan videretur umbra terrae, vel orbis lunae soli oppositus, breves et ferrugineas fecisse tenebras, trium horarum spatium ponitur, ut omnis causantium occasio tolleretur. *Ib. p. 139.*

(a) Porphyrius istum locum Marci Evangelistae principio comparat: in quo scriptum est. *Initium evangelii Jesu Christi, Filii Dei, sicut scriptum est in Isaia Propheta. . . .* Quum enim testimonium de Malachia Isaiaque contextum sit, quaerit, Quomodo velut ab uno Isaia exemplum putemus assumptum. Cui ecclesiastici viri plenissime responderunt. Nos autem nomen Isaiae putamus additum scriptorum vitio. *Ibid. p. 10.*

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"thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord. Make his paths straight." "For since this quotation is composed out of Malachi [iii. 1.] and Isaiah [xl. 3.] he asks, how it comes to pass, that it is all said to be taken from Isaiah? To which question, says Jerome, ecclesiastical writers have answered largely. But I am of opinion, that the name of Isaiah has been added through the fault of the transcribers of the Gospels."

Hence, I think, it appears, that Porphyrie had read the Gospels with care, and that he did not overlook any advantage against them.

Jerome has considered this point (b) elsewhere. We hence perceive, that at that time the name of *Esaias* was read in St. *Mark*, as well as in St. *Matthew*: whereas now in St. *Mark*, it is in the *Prophets*. Concerning this various reading, divers learned moderns (c) may be consulted.

Once more. It appears from the homilie of an ancient anonymous writer, that (d) this objection of Porphyrie was in the fourteenth book of his work against the Christians.

9. Jerome, writing against Vigilantius, who disliked the excessive veneration, then paid to the Martyrs, and did not give credit to every miracle, said to be wrought by their reliques, useth these expressions: "Unless (e) says he, after the manner of the Gentils, and the

(b) *De optimo genere interpretandi. Ad Pamm. ep. 33. al. 101. T. 4. P. 2. p. 253.*

(c) *Mill. et Wetst. et Bez. in loc.*

(d) Incertus auctor homiliae de principio Evangelii secundum Marcum inter opera Chrysostomi: Locum istum, inquit, impius ille Porphyrius in quarto decimo volumine disputat, et dicit: Evangelistae tam imperiti fuerunt homines,

non solum in secularibus sed etiam in scripturis divinis, ut testimonium, quod alibi scriptum est, de alio ponerent Propheta. *Citat. ap. Wetsten. in loc. Vid. et Bez. in loc.*

(e) Spiritus ille immundus, qui haec te cogit scribere, saepe hoc vilissimo tortus est pulvere: imo hodieque torquetur, et qui in te plagas dissimulat, in ceteris confitetur, Nisi forte in morem Gentilium,

im-

“ impious Porphyrie, and Eunomius, you pretend, that these are
 “ only artifices of the demons, and that the demons do not com-
 “ plain, but only feign themselves to be tormented.”

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It is likely, that Jerome here refers to some disagreeable reflexi-
 ons, which Porphyrie had made upon our Lord's cure of the de-
 moniacs in the countrey of the Gadarens, or elsewhere. See Matt.
 viii. 29. Mark v. 7. Luke viii. 28. and Mark i. 23. 24. Luke iv.
 33. 34.

10. Theophylact, in his Commentarie upon the begining of St. *John i.*
 John's Gospel, has these expressions. “ So (f) that the sophism of that
 “ Gentil Writer, Porphyrie, falls to the ground. He, endeavoring
 “ to overthrow the gospel, makes use of these divisions. “ If, says
 “ he, *the Son of God be Word, he must be either outward word, or*
 “ *inward word.* [That is, reason, thought, or speech.] *But he is*
 “ *neither this, nor that. Therefore he is not Word.*”

Upon which Theophylact observes, that such divisions may be
 made use of concerning us, and other natural things: but have no
 place among things supernatural.

11. In a work of Jerome against the Pelagians we find this pas- *John vii.*
 sage. “ Our (g) Lord says to his brethren, that he should not go
 “ up to the Feast of Tabernacles. John vii. 8. And yet afterwards
 “ it is written: *But when his brethren were gone up, then went he up*
 “ *also to the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret. ver. 10.* He

Z 2

“ said

impiorumque Porphyrii et Eunomii, has
 praestigias daemonum esse confingas et
 non vere clamare daemonas, sed sua simu-
 lare tormenta. *Adv. Vig. T. 4. P. 2. p.*
286.

(f) Ως ε διαπέπτωκε τοῦ ἑλληνος Πορφυρίου
 τὸ σόφισμα. Εκείνος γὰρ ἀνατρέπειν πειρώμε-
 νος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τοιαύταις ἐχρήτο διαί-
 ρεσεσιν. Εἰ γὰρ λόγος, φησὶν, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Θεᾶς,
 ἦτοι προφορικὸς ἐστίν, ἢ ἐνδιάθετος· ἀλλὰ μὴν

οὔτε τοῦτο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνο. Ὁὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ λόγος
 ἐστίν. *Theoph. p. 558. A.*

(g) Negat fratribus et propinquis, ire
 se ad Scenopagiam. Et postea scriptum
 est: Ut autem ascenderunt fratres ejus,
 tum et ipse ascendit. . . . Iturum se nega-
 vit, et fecit quod prius negaverat. Latrat
 Porphyrius: inconstantiae ac mutationis
 accusat. . . . *Hieron. adv. Pelag. lib. 2. T.*
4. p. 521.

A. D. 270. “ said he would not go : and yet he went. Here Porphyrie barks,
“ charging our Lord with ficklenesse and inconstance.”

We now read in ver 8. *I go not yet up to the feast.* But from this place of Jerome, as well as from the quotations of other ancient authors, it appears, that the common reading then was: *I go not up to the feast.* Upon which divers learned men (*b*) may be consulted. Supposing that to be the true reading, I see not any reason for the charge of inconstance, or of our Lord's altering his intention. The context shews, that he spoke of deferring his Journey to Jerusalem, for a short time: not that he had resolved not to go at all to the feast. He went to the feast. And he always intended so to do. But he went not up to that feast so soon, nor so publicly, as he did at some other seasons. And he assigns the reason of that conduct, which may be seen, ver. 6. and 7.

Acts ii. 12. In his commentarie upon Joel ii. 28.... 31. Which words are quoted by St. Peter, *Acts ii.* 16... 20. Jerome speaking of the Apostles way of arguing: “ Not says (*i*) he, that they abused the
“ simplicity and ignorance of their hearers, as the impious Porphy-
“ rie insinuates.”

However, I do not affirm, that Porphyrie referred to this place of the *Acts*. He might refer to some other. And possibly, often said such things of the Apostles or some of them.

Acts v. 1... 14. 13. In another place Jerome speaking of the charity of the first believers at Jerusalem, and of the behaviour of Ananias, and his wife Sapphira, has this observation: “ Lastly (*k*) the Apostle Peter by
“ no means imprecates death to them, as the foolish Porphyrie [or,
“ as

(*b*) *Vid. in loc. Mill. Wetst. Bez. Grot. &c.*

(*i*) Non quod abuterentur audientium simplicitate et imperitia, ut impius calumniatur Porphyrius. *In Joel cap. 2. Tom. 3. p. 1359.*

(*k*) Denique et Apostolus Petrus ne-

quaquam imprecatur eis mortem, ut stultus Porphyrius [MSS. Philosophus] calumniatur: sed Dei judicium prophetico spiritu annuntiat, ut poena duorum hominum sit doctrina multorum. *Ad Demetriad. ep. 97. al. 8. T. 4. p. 792.*

“ as in some MSS. Philosopher,] calumniates : but by the prophetic
 “ spirit declares the judgement of God, that the punishment of two
 “ persons might be an instruction to many.”

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14. Gal. i. 15. 16. *But when it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, Gal. i.
 that I might preach him among the Heathen, I conferred not with flesh
 and bloud.*

“ I know (l) says Jerome in his comment upon this text, that
 “ many so understand this expression of the Apostle. And Por-
 “ phyrie likewise objects, that after the revelation of Christ, Paul
 “ did not vouchsafe to go to any men, to confer with them, least,
 “ truly, after having been taught by God, he should receive instruc-
 “ tion from *flesh and bloud*. But I can never persuade my-self to
 “ think, that by flesh and bloud are to be understood Peter, James
 “ and John.”

But, notwithstanding that judgement of Jerome, I suppose, that
 still most will be of opinion, that in the expression *flesh and bloud*,
 are intended all men, not excluding the greatest Apostles. Compare
 this with ver. 12. *For I neither received it of man. Neither was I
 taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.* And see ver. 17. 18.
 There can be no question made, but that *Porphyrie* had an eye to
 these passages of the epistle to the *Galatians*.

15. Gal. ii. 11. 12. 13. 14. St. Paul says: *But when Peter was Gal. ii.
 come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blam- 11. &c.
 ed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the
 Gentils.... But when I saw, that they walked not uprightly, accord-
 ing to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all...*

In

(l) Scio, plerosque de apostolis hoc dic-
 tum arbitrari. Nam et Porphyrius obji-
 cit, quod post revelationem Christi non
 fuerit dignatus ire ad homines, et cum
 iis conferre sermonem: ne post doctri-

nam videlicet Dei, a carne et sanguine in-
 strueretur. Sed absit, ut ego Petrum et
 Jacobum et Johannem carnem et sangui-
 nem putem. In *Ep. ad Gal. cap. i. p.*
 233.

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In the preface to his Commentarie upon the epistle to the Galatians, Jerome speaks thus of this matter. “The (m) wicked Porphyrie not understanding this, in the first book of his work against us, objects, that Peter was reprov’d by Paul: that he did not proceed uprightly in preaching the gospel: aiming thereby to affix the blot of a mistake upon the one, and of peevishness upon the other. And hence he argues the falshood of the whole doctrine, as if it were a mere invention, since the heads of the churches disagreed.”

In his Commentarie upon the words above quoted, Jerome says, “that (n) some think, Cephas, whom Paul *withstood to the face*, was not the Apostle Peter, but another of the same name, possibly, one of the Seventy disciples. They argued, that Peter could not withdraw from conversation with the Gentils, who had baptized Cornelius. They argued likewise from the defense he made of what he had done at the house of Cornelius, when *they of the circumcision at Jerusalem contended with him*, as recorded Acts xi. 1. . . 18. They also said, that St. Luke in the Acts makes not
“any

(m) Quod nequaquam intelligens Bata-neotes et sceleratus ille Porphyrius in primo operis sui adversus nos libro, Petrum a Paulo objecit esse reprehensum: quod non recto pede incederet ad evangelizandum: volens et illi maculam erroris inungere, et huic procacitatis: et in commune ficti dogmatis accusare mendacium, dum inter se ecclesiarum principes discrepent. *Pr. in ep. ad Gal. p. 223.*

(n) Sunt qui Cephā, cui hic in faciem Paulus restitisse se scribit, non putent Apostolum Petrum, sed alium de septuaginta discipulis, isto vocabulo nuncupatum. Et dicunt, nequaquam Petrum a convic-tu Gentium se potuisse subtrahere, qui et Centurionem Cornelium baptizarat . . .

et locum dari Porphyrio blasphemanti, si aut Petrus errasse, aut Paulus procaciter Apostolorum principem confutasse credatur. Quibus primum respondendum, alterius nescio cujus Cephae nescire nos nomen, nisi ejus qui in Evangelio, et in aliis Pauli epistolis, et in hac quoque ipsa modo *Cephas* modo *Petrus* scribitur Ad extremum, si propter Porphyrii blasphemiam alius nobis fingendus est Cephas, ne Petrus putetur errasse, infinita de Scripturis radenda divinis: quae ille, quia non intelligit, criminatur. Sed adversum Porphyrium in alio, si Christus jusserit, opere pugnabimus. Nunc reliqua prosequamur. *In ep. ad Gal. ib. p. 244.*

“ any mention of this diffension : nor that Peter and Paul ever were
 “ together at Antioch. They also insisted, that there would be an
 “ advantage given to Porphyrie, if it were allowed, either that Pe-
 “ ter erred, or that Paul peevishly confuted the chief of the Apo-
 “ stles. To all which Jerome answers, that he knows not of any
 “ Cephas, but him who is mentioned in the Gospels, and in other
 “ epistles of Paul, and in this same epistle, and is sometimes called
 “ Cephas, sometimes Peter. And after considering the other just
 “ mentioned arguments, he concludes. Finally, if because of Por-
 “ phyrie’s blasphemie, another Cephas must be invented, least Peter
 “ should be thought to have erred ; innumerable passages must be
 “ struck out of the divine Scriptures : which he finds fault with,
 “ because he does not understand them.”

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Jerome occasionally refers to this objection of Porphyrie, in his Commentarie upon the fifty-third chapter of (o) *Isaiah*.

In a letter to Augustin upon this subject, Jerome tells him, “ how
 “ (p) he and others had asserted the prudence of the Apostles, and
 “ restrained the impudence of the blaspheming Porphyrie, who says,
 “ that Peter and Paul had a childish quarrel with one another : and
 “ that Paul burned with envie at the virtues of Peter, and had writ
 “ in a boasting manner of things, which either he never did : or if
 “ he

(o) Ex quo, qui dispensatoriam inter Petrum et Paulum contentionem, vere dicunt jurgium fuisse atque certamen, ut blasphemanti Porphyrio satisfaciant, et veteris legis caeremonias in ecclesiâ Christi, a stirpe credentis Israel asserunt esse servandas, debent et auream in mille annis expectare Jerusalem. . . . *In Is. cap. liii. T. 3. p. 388.*

(p) Ego, imo alii ante me exposuerunt causam quam putaverant, non officiosum mendacium defendentes, sicut tu scribis,

sed ostendentes honestam dispensationem, ut et Apostolorum prudentiam demonstrarent, et blasphemantis Porphyrii impudentiam coercerent, qui Paulum et Petrum puerili dicit inter se pugnasse certamine : imo exarsisse Paulum in invidiam virtutum Petri, et ea scripsisse jactanter, quae vel non fecerit, vel si fecerit, procaciter fecerit, id in alio reprehendens quod ipse commiserit. *Ad Augustin. ep. 74. al. 89. T. 4. P. 2. p. 622.*

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 “ he had been guilty of himself.”

Here we might wish to see Porphyrie himself, in his own words. But there seems to have been a reference to several things said by Paul in other epistles, beside this to the Galatians. In the last words of the passage, just transcribed, I think it plain, that there is a reference to what is said by Paul 1 Cor. ix. 20. *Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews*: and, perhaps, to some other like texts. And, possibly, he had also a regard to several things done by St. Paul, and related by St. Luke in the Acts: such as his *circumcising Timothee*, Acts xvi. 1... 3. his *vow at Cenchrea*. ch. xviii. 18. And to what he did at Jerusalem, by the advice of St. James. xxi. 20... 28.

Jerome had before spoken of this matter in another place of the same epistle to Augustin: telling him, “ that (*q*) others before him, “ had explained the conduct of the two Apostles in the same manner that he had done, in answer to the blasphemous Porphyrie, “ who charged Paul with peevishness in that he presumed to re- “ prove the chief of the Apostles, and dispute with him to the “ face, and tell him, that *he was to be blamed*, that is, was in an “ error: when he who reproveth the other, was as guilty him- “ self.”

By all which, I think, we may perceive the force of Porphyrie's argument upon this point. “ He supposed Peter to have taught, “ for a while at least, a different doctrine from Paul. And thence “ argued,

(*q*) Haec autem explicationem, quam primus Origenes in decimo Stromateon libro, ubi epistolam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur, et ceteri deinceps interpretes sunt sequuti, illa vel maxime causa introducunt, ut Porphyrio respondeant blasphemanti, qui Pauli arguit procacita-

tem, quod principem Apostolorum Petrum ausus est reprehendere, et arguere in faciem, ac ratione constringere, quod male fecerit, id est, in errore fuerit: in quo fuit ipse, qui alium arguit delinquentem. *Ibid.* p. 619.

“ argued, that the religion taught by them, could not be a revela-
 “ tion from heaven. Or, if Peter did not for a while teach a doc-
 “ trine different from what himself had taught at other times, and
 “ different from that generally taught by Paul, he was guilty of some
 “ improper compliance, for which he was blamed by Paul. But
 “ that Paul, if indeed he did reprove Peter at Antioch, as he boast-
 “ ingly says to the Galatians ch. ii. he shewed therein pride, and
 “ envie, and peevishnesse: and was a very unfit reprover of another,
 “ when he had himself been guilty of the same fault, and had of-
 “ ten complied in a like manner.”

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This seems to be the substance of Porphyrie's observations upon this, and some other texts of Scripture. And undoubtedly, he hence argued, that both Peter and Paul were deceivers, and impostors, and that the doctrine taught by them could not be a revelation from heaven.

And it must be owned, that this has appeared a difficulty to many. And the solutions of learned Christians have been different. To me the case seems to be this.

St. Peter never taught a doctrine different from himself, nor from St. Paul. But he was not uniform in his conduct. Once, at least, he complied too far with those believers of the Jews, who were for imposing circumcision, and the other rites of the law, upon the Gentils, as necessarie to salvation. As St. Paul says, Gal. ii. 11. . . . *When Peter was at Antioch, he did eat with the Gentils: but when some came from Jerusalem, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing them, which were of the circumcision.* Herein, out of fear of offending others, Peter acted contrarie to his own judgement. Therefore Paul calls it *disimulation*, and shews the bad consequence of such conduct: and that it implied the necessity of the Gentils being circumcised in order to obtain salvation, and to the having communion with the Jewish believers. *But when I saw, that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them*

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St. Paul's doctrine was always the same. And his conduct was ever uniform, and consistent. He always said, that circumcision was not necessarie, or available, in any, to justification and salvation. He never said, that it was sinfull, or unlawfull in any.

To

(r) *Τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰσδαΐζειν;*
That word is explained in the 3. vol. of the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. p. 164. To which I would now add Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. cap. 10. *Ἀποπὸν ἐστὶν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν καλεῖν, καὶ ἰσδαΐζειν.*

(s) Quapropter non ideo Petrum emendavit, quod paternas traditiones observaret. Quod si facere vellet, nec mendaciter, nec incongrue faceret. Quamvis enim jam superflua, tamen solita non nocerent. Sed quoniam Gentes cogebat judaizare: quod nullo modo posset, nisi ea sic ageret, tanquam etiam post Domini adventum necessaria saluti forent, quod vehementer per apostolatam Pauli veritas dissuasit. Nec apostolus Petrus id ignorabat: sed id faciebat, timens eos qui ex circumcisione erant. *Augustin. ap. Hieron. ep. 67. al. 87. T. 4. P. 2. p. 605.*

Proinde, si post hoc Apostolorum decretum, Petrus habuit illam in Antiochia simulationem, quâ Gentes cogeret judaizare, quod nec ipse cogeatur, quamvis

propter commendanda eloquia Dei, quae Judaeis sunt credita, non prohibebatur: quid mirum, si constringeret eum Paulus libere asserere, quod cum ceteris Apostolis se Jerosolymis decrevisse meminerat.

Si autem hoc, (quod magis arbitror,) ante illud Jerosolymitanum Concilium Petrus fecit: nec sic mirum est, quod eum volebat Paulus non timide obtegere, sed fidenter asserere, quod eum pariter sentire jam noverat. Sive quod cum eo contulerat evangelium: sive quod in Cornelii centurionis vocatione, etiam divinitus eum de hac re admonitum noverat: sive quod antequam illi, quos timuerat, venissent Antiochiam, cum Gentibus eum convesci viderat. Neque enim negamus, in hac sententiâ fuisse jam Petrum, in quâ et Paulus fuit. Non itaque tunc eum quod in ea re verum esset docebat. Sed ejus simulationem, quâ Gentes judaizare cogebantur, arguebat. &c. *August. ap. Hieron. ep. 76. al. 97. T. 4. p. 632. 633.*

To the Galatians he writes ch. v. 2. 3. 4. *Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify unto every man that is circumcised, that he is debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you. Whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.* It is plain, that he is here speaking of such, as expected to be justified by the law: who embraced circumcision, as necessarie to acceptance with God, and eternal salvation. Such men departed from the grace of the gospel, and could have no benefit by it. They came under an obligation to observe all the rituals of the Mosaic law. And if they did not obey the law in all things, they exposed themselves to a curse, as he shews, ch. iii. 10.

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In the second chapter at ver. 6. he says: *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision: but faith, which worketh by love.* And afterwards, in the same epistle, vi. 15. 16. *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercie, and upon the Israel of God.* And 1 Cor. vii. 18. 19. *Is any man called circumcised? Let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? Let him not become circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing: but keeping the commandments of God.*

That was St. Paul's doctrine. And his conduct was agreeable to it. The same was the doctrine of Peter, and of all the Apostles, though Peter once deviated from it in his conduct, as we have seen. What was Peter's doctrine, we learn, (not now to argue from his epistles, as we might) from his speech at Jerusalem: Acts xv. wherein he plainly declares, as Paul does, that the works of the law are of no avail either to Jews or Gentils in point of justification with God. For with these words he concludes that speech. ver. 11. *But we believe, that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we Jews, shall be saved, even as they, the Gentils.* And see before ver. 8. 9.

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10. and ch. x. 34. 35. and xi. 1. . . 18. And compare this with words of St. Paul. Gal. ii. 15. 16.

Though St. Paul may be thought to have yielded to some Jewish prejudices in the several actions above mentioned, it had no such bad tendency, as the behaviour of St. Peter at Antioch had : as has been well shewn by Augustin in explaining 1 Cor. xi. 20. He says, “ that
“ (t) Paul practised some rites of the law, for shewing, that it was
“ not sinfull, even under the gospel, for Jews to observe the ordi-
“ nances, which they had received from their ancestors by means
“ of the law. At the same time he taught them, that they should
“ not place their hopes of salvation in obedience to such ordina-
“ ces : nor impose that yoke upon the Gentils, as necessarie to their
“ salvation.”

Augustin has particularly considered all those actions of Paul, which have been looked upon by some, as unwarrantable compliances : to which also Porphyrie may be supposed to have referred : his circumcising Timothie, his vow at Cenchrea, his conduct at Jerusalem. And he well shews, how (u) they differed from Peter's be-

(t) Sed ideo suscepit ea celebranda, quum jam Christi esset Apostolus, ut doceret non esse perniciofa his qui ea vel-
lent, sicut a parentibus per legem acceperant, custodire, etiam cum in Christo credidissent : non tamen in eis jam constituerent spem salutis, quoniam per Dominum Jesum salus ipsa, qua ipsis sacramentis significabatur, advenerat, Ideoque Gentibus, quod insuetos a fide revocarent onere gravi et non necessario, nullo modo imponenda esse censebat. *August. ap. Hieron. ep. 67. al. 87. T. 4. p. 605.*

(u) Ego quidem illud Petrum sic egisse, credo, ut Gentes cogeret judaizare. Hoc enim lego scripsisse Paulum, quem

mentitum esse non credo : et ideo non recte agebat hoc Petrus. Erat enim contra evangelii veritatem, ut putarent, qui credebant in Christum, sine illis veteribus sacramentis salvos esse non posse. Hoc enim contendeabant Antiochia, qui ex circumcisione crediderant. Contra quos Paulus perseveranter acriterque confligit. Ipsum vero Paulum non ad hoc egisse, quod vel Timotheum circumcidit, vel Cenchre-
is votum persolvit, vel Jerosolymis a Jacobo admonitus, cum eis qui voverant, legitima illa celebranda suscepit, ut putari videretur per ea sacramenta etiam Christianam salutem dari : sed ne illa, quae prioribus ut congruebant temporibus, in umbris.

behaviour at Antioch. What Peter did, implied the necessity of circumcision in order to salvation, which Paul constantly and earnestly opposed. By all his several compliances, just mentioned, he only shewed, that he did not think the Jewish rites evil and sinfull.

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I shall now observe only upon the last of those compliances, particularly related, Acts xxi. 17. . . 28. *And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James. And the Elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he declared particularly, what things God had wrought among the Gentils by his ministrie. And what follows.*

For it had been said at Jerusalem, that Paul, in all countreys where he had been, *had taught, that the Jews ought not to circumcise their children*: that is, that it was sinfull, and unlawfull for them so to do. This Paul had never done. And (x) James, and the Elders with him, were perswaded, it was a false report. But for giving satisfaction to all, they advised him to joyn himself with some others then at Jerusalem, *who had a vow on them. Them take, say they, and purify thy-self with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads, and all may know that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing.*

With that advice Paul complied. Nor could it be of any bad consequence, after what had passed, as related by St. Luke: “that James and the Elders rejoyced, and praised God for the Apostle’s succeſſe among the Gentils, and declared, that no legal services were expected of the Gentils that believed.” After that, what Paul did, only shewed, that it was not sinfull for Jews to practise the rites and ceremonies of the law. Nothing then done by him was any prejudice to the doctrine, always, and every where, taught by him,

bris rerum futurarum Deus fieri jufferat, tamquam idololatriam Gentilium damna-re crederetur. *Aug. ap. Hier. ep. 76. al. 97. T. 4. p. 631.*

(x) Non, ut opinor, obscurum est, et Jacobum hoc ideo monuisse, ut scirent falsa esse quae de illo audierant. *Aug. ut supra. p. 632.*

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him, that the observation of those rites was not necessarie to salvation, nor at all available to any, whether Jews or Gentils, to justification in the sight of God. As (y) Augustin says: "The Apostles in their Council at Jerusalem had decreed, that no man ought to compell the Gentils to judaïze. They did not decree, that any man should forbid the Jews to judaïze: though the Christian doctrine did not require that even of them."

Augustin says again very well. "There (z) was no better way for Paul to confute the false report that had been raised, than for him to perform those things, which he was thought to condemn as sinfull: and thus to shew, that neither the Jews were to be forbid them, as evil, nor the Gentils to be compelled to do them, as necessarie."

Thus I have represented this case, as it has long appeared to me. And all along I have been supported by observations of Augustin, the fruit of that good sense, which (a) is a distinguishing part of his character. And I persuade my-self, that most of my readers will with pleasure read them in his own words, placed at the bottom of my pages. Jerome's solution, propounded by him in his Commentarie upon the epistle to the Galatians, and in his letters to Augustin, though he was very positive, deserves not to be mentioned, nor taken any notice of.

This

(y) Praesertim, quia in ipsis Jerosolymis Apostoli jam decreverant, ne quisquam Gentes cogeret judaïzare. Non autem decreverant, ne quisquam Judaeos judaïzare prohiberet: quamvis etiam ipsos jam doctrina Christiana non cogeret. *Aug. ib. p. 632.*

(z) Et ideo illi invidiam et persecutionem molientes concitare, tanquam inimicum legis mandatorumque divinarum

criminabantur: cujus falsae criminationis invidiam congruentius devitare non posset, quam ut ea ipsa celebraret, quae damnare tanquam sacrilega putabatur: atque ita ostenderet, nec Judaeos tunc ab eis tanquam nefariis prohibendos, nec Gentiles ad ea tanquam necessaria compellendos. *Id. ib. p. 632.*

(a) See *the Credib. P. 2. vol. x. p. 201.*

This point has detained us rather too long. But I do not see, how it could be passed by without notice, or without clearing up a difficulty, which came in our way, and has been supposed to affect the credit of two of Christ's Apostles, and in them also the Christian cause * * *.

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VIII. We may now look back upon what we have seen in Porphyrie. Whence, I think, it manifestly appears, that he was well acquainted with the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. For we have had before us many of his objections against the book of Daniel, an objection against a text in the book of Genesis. And we have observed plain references to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistle to the Galatians: and in his remarks upon that epistle, probable references to others of St. Paul's epistles. There can be no question made, that in his work against the Christians, many other books of the New Testament were quoted, or referred to by him. It is well, that in the remaining fragments of his work we have evidences of so many references to them, as there are. But it may be remembered, that Jerome, who seems to have had the whole work before him, said not long agoe: "That if because of Porphyrie's blasphemies, another Cephias must be invented, least Peter should be thought to have erred; innumerable passages must be struck out of the divine Scriptures, which he has found fault with, because he did not understand them." The places of Scripture therefore, which Porphyrie had remarked upon, were very numerous. Theodoret observes, that (*) Porphyrie read the Scriptures very carefully, when he was composing his work against us.

A Review of his Testimonie to the Books of the O. and N. T.

IX.

* * * This difficulty was largely considered in *the Remarks upon Dr. Ward's Dissertations*. p. 157. &c.

(*) Τίτοις ἀκριβῶς ἐντυχὼν ὁ Πορφύριος μα-

λά γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνεδιέτριψε, τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν τορέων γραφὴν. *Theod. Therap. serm. vii. p. 588. A.*

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Passages
concern-
ing the
Christian
Religion,
and the
Affairs of
Christians

IX. I now proceed to observe some other passages of Porphyrie, concerning the Christian Religion, or the professors of it, and their affairs: where also there may be some references to our Scriptures.

1. Eusebius, in his Evangelic Preparation, has these words: “ And (b) that evil demons have had no power of doing any thing, “ since our Saviour’s dwelling among men, the advocate of demons “ in our time somewhere testifies in his work against us, in this “ manner: *And now people wonder, that this distemper has oppressed “ the city so many years, Esculapius, and the other gods no longer con- “ versing with men. For since Jesus has been honoured, none have re- “ ceived any public benefit from the Gods.* So says Porphyrie in those “ very words.”

Here is proof, that the Christians were then very numerous in the Roman Empire. It likewise shews, that Porphyrie adopted the common cant, and was willing to expose them to popular reproach, by insinuating, that they were the causes of the calamities that befell the Empire.

This passage is also quoted by Theodoret, in the same terms, in his work against the Gentils. And then he subjoins: “ So (c) says our greatest enemy, Porphyrie.” But he does not say, no more than Eusebius, in which book of his work against the Christians it was found,

2. Upon

(b) Περὶ δὲ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τι καὶ ἰχθύν φαύλους δαίμονας, μετὰ τὸν τῷ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους πάροδον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τῶν δαιμόνων προήγος, ἐν τῇ καθ’ ἡμῶν συσκευῇ, τῶτόν τε λέγων μαρτυρεῖ τὸν τρόπον. Νυνὶ δὲ θαυμάζουσιν εἰ τοσέτων ἐτῶν κατέλιπε τὴν πό-

λιν ἢ νόσος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ μὲν ἐπιδημίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν μηκετ’ ὄυσης. Ἰησοῦ γὰρ τιμωμένῃ οὐδεμίας τις θεῶν δημοσίας ἀφελείας ἤσθετο. κ. λ. Pr. Ev. l. 5. cap. i. p. 181. D.

(c) Ταῦτα ὁ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐχθιστὸς Πορφύριος ἔειπκε. Gr. Aff. l. 12. T. 4. p. 679.

2. Upon Is. iii. 12. *As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them.* Jerome had this practical reflexion. "Let
 " (d) us also take care therefore, that we be not oppressors among
 " the people: least, according to the impious Porphyrie, matrons
 " and women compose our senate: and they rule in the churches,
 " and the priestly order be disposed of according to the good plea-
 " sure of women."

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3. Jerome in his letter to Cresiphon, against the Pelagians, having mentioned divers events and proceedings hard to be accounted for, goes on. "And (e) finally (which your good friend, Porphyrie, useth to object to us,) how came it to pass, that the gracious
 " and mercifull God should suffer all nations from Adam to Moses,
 " and from Moses to the coming of Christ, to perish through ig-
 " norance of his laws and commands? Forasmuch as neither Bri-
 " tain fruitfull of Tyrants, nor the Scottish nations, nor the barba-
 " rous people all around, were acquainted with Moses and the Pro-
 " phets. What necessity therefore was there, that he should come
 " in the end of the world, and not till after an innumerable multi-
 " tude of men had perished?"

4. I shall now make some extracts out of a book or letter of Au-
 gustin

(d) Caveamus ergo et nos, ne exactores simus in populo: ne juxta impium Porphyrium, matronae et mulieres sint noster senatus: quae dominantur in ecclesiis, et de sacerdotali gradu favor judicat feminarum. *In Is. cap. 3. T. 3. p. 38.*

(e) Et ad extremum (quod solet nobis objicere contubernalis vester Porphyrius,) qua ratione clemens et misericors Deus ab Adam usque ad Moysen, et a Moyse usque ad adventum Christi, passus sit uni-

versas gentes perire ignorantia legis et mandatorum Dei. Neque enim Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, et Scotticae gentes, omnesque ad oceanum per circuitum barbarae gentes, Moysen Prophetasque cognoverant. Quid necesse fuit eum in ultimo venire tempore, et non priusquam innumerabilis periret hominum multitudo? *Ad Cresiph. adv. Pelagian. ep. 43. T. 4. p. 481.*

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gustin (*f*) in answer to six questions or difficulties, as taken from Porphyrie, proposed by a Pagan at Carthage, and sent to him by a Presbyter, named *Deogratias*.

They are a proof of the esteem, which Heathen people then had for Porphyrie's work against the Christians. However, of these Six Questions three only appear to be taken from Porphyrie. I may therefore for the present confine my-self to them, without taking particular notice of the rest. This letter of Augustin is supposed to have been writ in the year 408.

5. The (*g*) second question, and as taken from Porphyrie, and supposed to be of great weight, was concerning the time of the Christian Revelation.

John xiv.
6.

“ If Christ, as he says, be the way of salvation, the truth, and the life, and they only who believe in him can be saved; what became of the men, which lived before his coming?” which difficulty is there enlarged upon.

Augustin, beside other things, says in the way of solution, “ that (*b*) there were revelations made to men from the begining of the world,

(*f*) Inter haec missae sunt mihi a Carthagine Quaestiones sex, quas proposuit amicus quidam, quem cupiebam fieri Christianum, ut contra paganos solverentur, praesertim quia nonnullas earum a Porphyrio philosopho propositas dixit: . . . Harum quaestionum disputationes in unum librum contuli, non prolixum, cujus titulus est, Sex Quaestiones contra Paganos expositae. . . . *Retr. l. 2. cap. 31.*

(*g*) Quaestio secunda. De tempore Christianae religionis. . . . Item alia proposuerunt, quae dicerent de Porphyrio contra Christianos tamquam validiora decerpta. Si Christus se, inquiunt, salutis viam dicit, gratiam, et veritatem, in

seque solo ponit animis sibi credentibus redditum, quid egerunt tot seculorum homines ante Christum? &c. *Aug. ep. 102. al. 49. n. 8. Qu. ii. T. 2.*

(*b*) Et tamen ab initio generis humani, alias occultius, alias evidentius, sicut congruere temporibus divinitus visum est: nec prophetari destitit, nec qui in eum crederent defuerant, ab Adam usque ad Moysen, et in ipso populo Israel, quae speciali quodam mysterio gens prophetica fuit, et in aliis gentibus, antequam venisset in carne. Cum enim nonnulli commemorantur in sanctis hebraicis libris jam ex tempore Abrahæ, nec ex stirpe carnis ejus, nec ex populo Israel, nec ex adventitia

“ world, such as were suited to the circumstances of things : and that
 “ all good men, in every part of the world, were accepted, and sav-
 “ ed. In the sacred Hebrew volumes, down from the time of A-
 “ braham, some are mentioned, who had the knowledge of the true
 “ religion, who neither were descended from him, nor were of the
 “ people of Israel, nor engrafted in among them. The like may
 “ be supposed of some in other nations, who also would obtain sal-
 “ vation.”

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6. The third of the six Questions was to this purpose. “ The (i)
 “ Christians find fault with sacred rites and sacrifices, and incense,
 “ and other things, in which the worship at temples consists. And
 “ yet they allow, that this kind of worship began in ancient times,
 “ by the appointment of God, who also is represented as wanting
 “ first-fruits.”

This (k) difficulty, as Augustin observes, was founded on what is
 written in our Scriptures, where it is said. Gen. iv. 4. *That Cain*
brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And
Abel

B b 2

titia societare in populo Israel, qui tamen
 hujus sacramenti participes fuerunt : cur
 non credamus etiam in ceteris, hac atque
 illac gentibus, alias alios fuisse, quamvis
 eos commemoratos in eisdem auctoritati-
 bus non legamus ? Ita salus religionis hu-
 jus, per quam solam veram salutem vera ve-
 raciter proponitur, nulli unquam defuit,
 qui dignus fuit. *Ib. n. 15.*

(i) Jam videamus eam, quae sequitur
 quaestionem. Accusant, inquit, ritus sa-
 crorum, hostias, thura, et cetera, quae
 templorum cultus exercuit : cum idem
 cultus ab ipsis, inquit, vel a Deo quem
 colunt exortus est temporibus priscis, cum
 inducitur Deus primitiis eguisse. *Ib. n.*
16.

(k) Huic respondetur, quoniam, ex il-

lo scripturarum nostrarum loco haec
 quaestio proposita agnoscitur, ubi scriptum
 est, Cain ex fructibus terrae, Abel autem
 ex primitivis ovium obtulisse munus Deo.
 Hinc potius est intelligendum, quam sit
 res antiqua sacrificium, quod non nisi uni
 Deo vero offerri oportere veraces et sa-
 crae literae monent : non quod illo egeat
 Deus, cum in eisdem ipsis literis apertissi-
 me sit scriptum, Dixi Domino : Deus
 meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum
 non eges. . . . n. 17. . . . Quopropter qui
 Christianas literas utriusque Testamenti
 sciunt, non hoc culpant in sacrilegis riti-
 bus paganorum, quod construant templa,
 et instituant sacerdotia, sed quod haec ido-
 lis et daemoniis exhibeant. *Ib. n. 18.*

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Abel brought of the firstlings of the flock. Which, as Augustin allows, shews, that sacrifices were appointed of old, which were to be offered to God alone: and that they were designed for the good of men, not of God, who needed not any thing, as is plainly declared Ps. xvi. 2. *I have said unto the Lord: Thou art my God, thou needest not my goods:* or in our version, *my goodnesse extendeth not to thee.* Nor, as he goes on, do Christians blame Pagans for their temples, and sacrifices, but because they offer them to idols and demons.

7. The fourth of the six Questions is to this purpose. “Christ
“(l) threatens everlasting punishment to those who do not believe
“in him. And yet in another place he says: *With what measure*
“*you mete, it shall be meted to you again.* Which is absurd and con-
“tradictorie. For all measure must be limited to time.”

Augustin (m) thinks, this a trifling argument, not becoming a Philosopher. However, he says, it (n) may be depended upon, that the judgement of Christ will be equitable, and that none shall be punished beyond the demerit of their offenses.

If these difficulties are indeed taken out of Porphyrie’s work against the Christians, they serve to assure us, that his objections were very much levelled at our Scriptures, which he knew were in great esteem. And to overthrow them would be overthrowing the faith built upon them.

(l) Jam nunc deinde videamus, quale sit, quod de mensura peccati atque supplicii proposuit, sic Evangelio calumniatus. Minatur, inquit, Christus sibi non credentibus, aeterna supplicia. Et alibi ait: In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis. Satis, inquit ridicule atque contrarie. Nam si ad mensuram redditurus est poenam, et omnes mensura circumscripta est sine temporis, quid sibi volunt minae infiniti supplicii? *Ib. n. 22.*

(m) Istam quaestionem a qualicumque philosopho esse objectam atque propositam, difficile est credere. *n. 23.*

(n) Nunc tamen arbitror, satis esse monstratum, non esse contrarium aeternitati suppliciorum, quod in eadem mensura redduntur, in qua peccata commissa sunt. *Ib. num. 27.*

8. The

8. The (o) fifth and sixth Questions contain also Pagan objections. But as they do not appear to be taken from Porphyrie, I omit them now. Nor do I intend to take them at all, they * * * being trifling.

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9. Ps. lxxxii. 8. *Arise, o God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations.*

Here Jerome, or whoever is the author of the Breviary upon the Psalter, in a stile and manner, somewhat resembling Jerome's, extols the succeſſe of Peter and Paul in preaching the goſpel. "God (p) ſent Moſes, Iſaiab, Jeremiab, and other prophets. And in
" *Judab*

(o) Qu. V. Poſt hanc quaestionem, qui eas ex Porphyrio propoſuit, hoc ad-junxit. . . *Ib. n. 28.*

Q. VI. Poſtrema quaestio propoſita eſt de Jona, nec ipſa quaſi ex Porphyrio, ſed tamquam ex irriſione paganorum. . . . *Ib. n. 30.*

* * * The ſixth Queſtion or difficulty relates to the hiſtorie of Jonah. Which, as Auguſtin obſerves, afforded laughter in converſation among Pagans. Hoc enim genus quaestionis, multo cachinno a Pa-ganis graviter irriſum animadverti. *Ibid. num. 30.*

(p) Quamdiu Moyſem miſeras, quamdiu Iſaiam, quamdiu Jeremiam, quamdiu alios prophetas: notus erat in Judaea Deus, in Iſrael magnum nomen ejus. In modica terra nominis Dei notitia ferebatur. Miſiſti Petrum piſcatorem, qui dimiſerat rete, qui ab opere calloſam habebat manum. Non miſiſti oratorem, non miſiſti philoſophum. Miſiſti hominem ruſticahum, hominem piſcatorem. Iſte piſcator, iſte ruſticanus de Jeroſolyma perrexit Romam, et ruſticanus cepit Romam, quam eloquentes capere non potuerunt.

Rurſum ivit Paulus apoſtolus, et de Jeroſolyma praedicavit uſque in Illyricum. Deinde dicit, quod de urbe Roma iret in Hiſpaniam. . . . Ubi ſunt, qui praedicant Alexandrum Magnum Macedonum imperatorem, quod in brevi tempore vicerit tantas gentes? Habuit exercitum, habuit et ingentes turbas. Non tale aliquid potuit, ſed modicum quiddam. Iſte vero Paulus quondam per ſecutor fuit, qui dicebat: Eſti imperitus ſum ſemone, non tamen ſcientiâ. Qui ſoloeciſmos facit in loquendo, crucem Chriſti portat, et quaſi triumphans omnes capit. Totum orbem ſubegit ab Oceano uſque ad mare Rubrum. Dicat aliquis: Hoc totum lucrifecerunt. Hoc enim dicit Porphyrius. Homines ruſlicani et pauperes, quoniam nihil habebant, magicis artibus operati ſunt quaedam ſigna. Non eſt autem grande facere ſigna. Nam fecerunt ſigna in Aegypto magi contra Moyſen. Fecit et Apollonius, fecit et Apuleius. Infiniti ſigna fecerunt. Concedo tibi, Porphyri, magicis artibus ſigna fecerunt, ut divitias acciperent a divitibus mulierculis, quas induxerant. Hoc enim tu dicis. Quare mor-

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“ *Judah was God known, his name was great in Israel*, a small track
 “ of land only. He sent Peter, no philosopher nor orator, but an
 “ illiterate fisherman, who went from Jerusalem to Rome, and con-
 “ verted Rome, which the most eloquent men were not able to do.
 “ Again he sent out the apostle Paul, and he preached the gospel
 “ from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum. [Rom. xv. 19.] Alex-
 “ ander the great, King of the Macedonians, with a powerfull ar-
 “ mie did not conquer so many nations, as they did. This Paul,
 “ who once was a persecutor, who says of himself, that he *was rude*
 “ *in speech, though not in knowledge*, who made solecisms in his
 “ speech, subdued the whole world. Some one may say, all this
 “ was done for the sake of gain. So says Porphyrie. Ignorant and
 “ indigent men, because they had nothing, performed some signs
 “ by magical art. Which is no great matter. For the Magicians
 “ in Egypt, and many others, have wrought signs. Let it be grant-
 “ ed. And, as you say, the Apostles wrought signs, that they might
 “ enrich themselves with the treasures of rich women, whom they
 “ perverted. But then, why did they die? Why were they cruci-
 “ fied? Others have wrought signs by magical arts, but they did
 “ not die for a dead man: they were not crucified for a man that
 “ had been crucified. They knew him to be dead. And did they
 “ die without any reason? Our victorie is compleated in the bloud
 “ of the Apostles. Our faith is ratified in their bloud. Let us there-
 “ fore praise God, to whom be glorie for ever and ever.”

If Porphyrie did indeed cast that reflection upon the Apostles,
 saying, they were deceivers, who were influenced by worldly views;
 (of which I think, no doubt can be made :) we have here another
 proof

mortui sunt? quare crucifixi? Fecerunt
 et alii signa magicis artibus, sed pro ho-
 mine mortuo non sunt mortui, pro homi-
 ne crucifixo non sunt crucifixi. Sciunt
 isti hominem esse mortuum, et moriun-
 tur sine caussa? Felix ergo nostra victoria,

quae in sanguine Apostolorum dicata est.
 Fides nostra non probatur, nisi per illo-
 rum sanguinem. Benedicamus ergo De-
 um, cui est gloria in secula seculorum.
 Amen. *Breviarium in Psalt. ap. Hieron.*
T. 2. p. 334. 335.

proof of his malevolence. And we see the reason, why his work was so offensive to the Christians.

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10. Porphyrie, in his *Life of Plotinus*, writ in his old age, and still exstant, says: “There (*q*) were at that time many Christians, “and others, heretics, who had sprung from the ancient philosophy, followers of Adelphius, and Acylinus, who deceiving others, “and being deceived, pretended, that Plato had not gone to the “bottom of the intelligible essence. Against them Plotinus often “argued in his disputations, and also wrote a little book, to which “we gave this title: *Against the Gnostics*.”

Porphyrie says, *he gave it that title*, because (*r*) he was the editor of that, and other works of Plotinus. That little book, treatise, or chapter, is still exstant among the works of Plotinus. But (*s*) there is not in it any express mention either of Gnostics, or Christians. It was writ, whilst Porphyrie was with Plotinus: therefore between the year 263. and 268.

11. Porphyrie's four books, *Of Abstinence from Animals*, are inscribed to his friend, *Firmus Castricius*, who had forsaken the Pythagorean institution, and had begun to eat the flesh of animals. In his introduction to that work, near the begining of the first book, are these words. “For, says (**) Porphyrie, I do not ascribe this “de-

(*q*) Γεγόνασι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν χριστιανῶν πολλοὶ μὲν, καὶ ἄλλοι αἰρετικοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φιλοσοφίας ἀνηγμένοι, οἱ περὶ Ἀδελφίου καὶ Ἀκυλίνου . . . πολλὰς ἐξηπάτων, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠπατημένοι, κ. λ. *Vit. Plotin. cap. 16.*

(*r*) *Ibid. cap. 24.*

(*s*) Est Enneados secundae liber novus, licet in illo ne semel quidem vel Gnosticorum nomen vel cujusquam ex his Porphyrio nominatis, mentio occurrat. *Fabr. annot. in vit. Plotin. Bib. Gr. T. 4. p. 219.*

(**) Οὐ γὰρ δὴ δι' ἀκρασίαν καὶ φόβον τὴν ὀφθαλμικῆς λαιμαργίας, καταφρονῆσαι τῶν πατέρων, ἧς ἐζήλωκας φιλοσοφίας νόμων, φήσαιμεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐδ' ἐλάττω τὴν φύσιν τῶν παρὰ τινων ἰδιωτῶν εἶναι, οἱ νόμους ἐναντίως, τοῖς ἐξ ὧν πρότερον καταδεχόμενοι, τομὰς τε μορίων ὑπομένεσθαι, καὶ τινων ζώων, ὧν πρόσθεν ἐνεφορῶντο, ἀποσχοῖντο μᾶλλον ἢ κρεῶν ἀνθρωπείων. *De Abst. ab esu animal. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 3.*

A. D. 270. “ defection of yours to intemperance, or gluttonie. Nor do I think
 “ your disposition to be worse than that of some mean people : who
 “ having embraced rules different from their former way of life,
 “ will endure to be torn limb from limb, rather than return to their
 “ old course : and now abstain from some animals, which they once
 “ ate greedily, with more care than from human flesh.”

1. This cannot relate to Jews, who always were under a strict rule of diet. 2. Therefore, probably, it relates to Christians, who had departed from their former way of living, and were then, generally, mean people, or so esteemed by Porphyrie. They did not abstain from any kinds of animals, but they generally forbore to eat blood, and refused to eat animals that were strangled, from which the blood had not been fairly drained. 3. And they were resolute in adhering to the principles, which they had received. 4. If this reflexion relates to Christians, (as I think it does) it shews great resentment, and bitterness of spirit. 5. And it ought to be observed, that it is brought in, without any necessity, in a work of Porphyrie, unquestionably genuine. The design of the observation, I suppose, is to recommend to his friend openness to conviction. He hoped, he could not be so obstinate and inflexible in his new opinion, as the mean people here spoken of.

12. Thus I have now alleged all such passages of Porphyrie's work against the Christians, as I have met with quoted by Christian writers, the work itself not being now extant. I may have overlooked †† some. But I have omitted none, which occur to my memorie.
 I have

†† Dr. Macknight, *The Truth of the Gospel Historie*, p. 319. 320. says, “ Porphyrie blames Jesus, as giving encouragement to fraud, by the parable of the Steward, who wasted his Lord's goods.” The same observation is also

in his *Harmony of the four Gospels*, p. 404. 2d edition. Not having in my papers any reference to such a passage of Porphyrie, I have writ to Dr Macknight, entreating him to refer me to the place, intended by him, where that observation might be found.

I have also just now alleged a short passage concerning the Christians from Porphyrie's Life of Plotinus, still extant: and another from his work Of Abstinence from the flesh of animals, which is also still extant, and unquestionably genuine.

X. There is another work, ascribed to Porphyrie, and often quoted by Eusebius, entitled *The Philosophie of Oracles*. Lucas Holstenius in his Life of Porphyrie (t) has given an account of all his works, and of this in particular, without any suspicion of it's being spurious. Fabricius (u) likewise still thinks it genuine, notwithstanding the objections of * Fontenelle. Another learned man says: "Some (x) have suspected, but without sufficient reason, this book of Porphyrie to be forged." Dr. Gregory Sharpe also makes use of this work in his *Argument for Christianity, taken from the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries*. He seems not to have had any doubt of it's genuineness. For after having quoted a good deal from it, he says: "I (y) will only make this one observation upon this long quotation from Eusebius: That it contains not only the opinion of Porphyrie, but the testimonie of their Gods, or, if you please, of their Priests, who did not dare to deny the excellence of the character of Jesus. These oracles cannot be called the forgeries of Christians. And whatever may be justly said against those of the
" Sybil,

found. Nevertheless I have not received from him any such reference. I must therefore conclude, that by some means or other, that learned and laborious writer has been led into a mistake. However, I still wish, the place might be found, if there is any such.

(t) *De Vita et Scriptis Porphyrii. cap. x. al. ix.*

(u) *Quare non assentior elegantissimo*

Fontenello, qui hoc opus Porphyrio suppositum esse suspicatur, in *Historia Oraculorum. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 4. p. 191.*

* See Fontenelle's *History of Oracles Diff. i. ch. iv.*

(x) Dr. Fortin. *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol. i. p. 301. See what there follows the above quotation.*

(y) *P. 71. 72.*

A. D. 270. " Sibyl, these must have their weight with all, who regard the authority of Porphyrie, or the testimonie of our adversaries."

This work is also approved by (z) Mr. Mosheim and (a) Dr. Chapman.

It is also much approved by *Colonia*, who, beside other things, says: " Porphyrie (b) declares, and makes our greatest mysteries to be declared by the Oracles of Apollo." Again: " He (c) makes the Goddesse Hecate say, and he acknowledgeth himself, that Jesus Christ is a man illustrious for piety, and that he is more powerful than Aesculapius, and all the other Gods."

This work is quoted with approbation by many other learned (d) men.

This

(z) *De Rebus Christian. ante Const. M. sec. 2. §. xxxii. p. 293. . . . 299.*

(a) See his Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. p. 10. and p. 76. &c.

(b) Porphyre annonce, et fait annoncer nos plus grands mysteres par les Oracles d' Apollon. *La Religion Chrétienne autorisée par le temoignage des anciens Payens. P. i. ch. lx. §. vi. p. 342.*

(c) Porphyre fait dire à la Déesse Hecate, et il reconnoit lui-même, que Jesus Christ est un homme illustre par sa pieté, et qu'il est plus fort qu' Esculape, et que tous les autres Dieux. *Ib. §. vii. p. 345.*

(d) Says Dr. Doddridge, *Course of Lectures, &c. p. 252.* " Porphyry also, tho' an inveterate enemy to Christianity, not only allowed, there was such a man as Christ, but honoured him, as a most wise and pious man, translated into heaven, as being approved by the Gods, and accordingly quotes some Oracles,

" referring to his sufferings, and virtues, with their subsequent rewards."

And Dr. Macknight, *Truth of the Gospel-History. p. 328.* " The same Porphyry gives a most honourable testimony to the character of Jesus, which must not be omitted here. It is preserved by Eusebius in his *Demonstr. Evangel. p. 134. . . .* This now is what Porphyry has said. The respectfull manner, in which Porphyry here writes of our Lord, plainly shews us, that the bitter speeches, which in the passage of Cyril before cited. p. 317. he is said to have uttered, were levelled only against the Christians, and not against their master." So then, this justly suspected, and paltry book, has at length gained such authority, as to be superior to the indisputable testimonie of an ancient Christian writer. And Porphyry, it seems, did not write against Jesus Christ, but only against Christians. However, we have been assured,

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This work, as I said just now, is approved by the late Mr. Mosheim. It is the consequence of a scheme formed by him concerning (e) a *Disturbance caused in the Church by the later Platonic Philosophers*. I presume, it will not be disallowed, that I have a great regard for Mr. Mosheim, and have oftentimes expressed myself concerning him with great respect. But I do not adopt this scheme. I think it a chimerical and visionarie notion. According to which, there is little or no difference between a Heathen and a Christian, or between Origen, a sincere and zealous Christian, if ever there was such an one, and an excellent Defender of the Christian Doctrine, and an indefatigable Preacher, and Commentator, and Porphyrie, a mere Heathen, as is manifest from his Lives of Pythagoras, and Plotinus, and a bitter enemy of the Christians, and Christianity, as we are assured by many ancient Christian authors, and as his own long work against the Christians testifies. If that opinion of Mr. Mosheim should prevail, it would indeed occasion great disorder in ecclesiastical history, and much confusion in the characters of many ancient Christian writers of great eminence. It may also create much confusion in the characters of divers men of great eminence among the Heathens: who †† will no longer be allowed to have been what they really

C c 2

were,

fured, that Porphyry reflected upon Jesus for what is said John vii. 8. . . 10. charging him with fickleness and unsteadiness, first saying, *he should not go up to the feast, and yet going afterwards*. Was this pert remark levelled against Christ, or against those who called themselves his followers?

(e) *De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesiâ. Diss. ii. inter Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes. p. 85. Sc.*

†† Quantum vero detrimenti Sophistae hi, aut Philosophi, Scientiae suae opinione, odioque Christiani nominis inflati, rei Christianae compararent, cum multa ex hoc aevo exempla, tum Julianus potissimum ostendit, qui ab hoc genere deceptus est. Ex his, qui sapientiores videri volebant, et temperationem quandam consecrati, multi disputationibus et interpretationibus eorum adduci sese sinebant, ut mediam sibi quamdam religionem inter veterem ac recentiore effingerent, Christumque

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were, throughout Gentils : but for the future must be reckoned, in a sense Christians, or at least, half Heathens, and half Christians. But upon that I enlarge no farther now. Another occasion may offer to clear up their characters.

As this *disturbance*, this confusion and mixture of Gentilism and Christianity, is all ascribed to (f) Ammonius Saccas, I must say somewhat farther concerning him, though (g) I formerly said as much as I could then think to be needfull.

It is to be observed then, that from (b) Eusebius, we learn, that Porphyrie in his work against the Christians, says of Ammonius, the celebrated Philosopher of Alexandria, master of Plotinus, and other learned men : *That having been educated a Christian by Christian parents, as soon as he came to years of understanding, and had a taste of philosophie, he presently betook himself to a life agreeable to the laws.* To which Eusebius says : “ *It is a downright falsehood, to say, he exchanged Christianity for Gentilism. For Ammonius maintained sincere and uncorrupted the doctrine of the divine philosophie to the end of his life : as his works, which he left behind him still testify, and for which he is in great repute : such as the treatise entitled, Of the Con-* *sent*

tumque id ipsum praecepisse, sibi persuaderent, quod sub caeremoniarum involucri diu a sacerdotibus Deorum reconditum fuisset. Sic animo affecti fuerunt AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, vir in primis consideratus, CHALCIDIUS, philosophus, THEMISTIUS, orator nobilissimus, et alii, qui utramque religionem in rebus praecipuis, modo recte capiantur, amice consentire, ideoque nec Christum spernendum, nec cum contemtione Deorum colendum esse, arbitrati sunt. *Moshem. Instit. p. 149. 150.*

(f) Christianam religionem, quo et novae philosophiae suae et antiquae religioni

consentaneam faceret, [Ammonius] fatebatur, Christum, magnum et sapientem virum, Deique numine ac consilio plenum, *admirabilem praeterea Theurgum, et daemonibus amicum*, sanctissimam proposuisse Disciplinam, miraculisque eam firmasse : eundem vero negabat aliquid sententiis suis adversum docuisse, veteraque populorum sacra, daemonumque populis et naturae divinitus praepositorum cultum abrogare voluisse. *Moshem. De Reb. Christian. p. 293. Conf. p. 283. et alibi.*

(g) *Credib. P. 2. ch. 36. vol. 3. p. 114.*

(b) *H. E. L. 6. cap. 19. p. 220.*

sent of Moses and Jesus, and many others, which may be found with the curious. A. D. 270.

From Eusebius, and agreeably to him, Jerome in his book of Ecclesiastical (i) Writers, says of Ammonius of Alexandria, *Among many excellent monuments of his wit, he composed also an elegant work of the Consent of Moses and Jesus, and invented the Evangelical Canons, which Eusebius of Caesarea afterwards followed. This person is falsely reproached by Porphyrie, that of a Christian he became a Heathen: whereas it is certain, he continued a Christian to the end of his life.*

Accordingly, it has been of late the General opinion of learned men, that *Ammonius*, sometimes called *Saccas*, was a Christian. But Fabricius (s) has contradicted it, and well observed, and plainly shewn, that Eusebius has confounded two authors, and has ascribed the works of Ammonius, a Christian writer, to Ammonius, master of Plotinus.

Many learned men have been well satisfied with the reasons assigned by Fabricius. Mr. Mosheim himself was well satisfied with them, when he wrote the above mentioned *Dissertation*. He (t) “ then made no doubt, that Eusebius was mistaken, and confound-
“ ed two of the name Ammonius, one a Philosopher, the other a
“ Christian writer. Ammonius, he says, was better known to Por-
“ phyrie, who had heard Plotinus, one of the principal disciples of
Am-

(i) *De V. I. cap. 55.*

(s) *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. xxvi. Tom. 4. p. 172. 173. Vid. et p. 159. 160. 161.*

(t) Negat quidem Eusebius haec ita se habere. et Ammonium ad extremum usque spiritum immotum in religione Christiana perstitisse, perhibet: cui credendum esse potius, quam Porphyrio, maximi nominis viri censent: quos inter Henr. Valesius, Petr. Baylius, et Jac. Basnagius eminent. Ego vero Eusebium errasse,

atque duos inter se Ammonios, alterum philosophum, alterum Christianum scriptorem confudisse, nullus dubito: quam sententiam praeclare confirmavit Jo. Alb. Fabricius. Notior certe Porphyrio esse debuit Ammonius, qui Plotinum audierat, praecipuum Ammonii discipulum, quam Eusebio, qui a temporibus ejus longo satis intervallo remotus est. *Mosheim. Diss. de turbata Ecclesia. §. vii. p. 101.*

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“ Ammonius, than to Eusebius, who lived a good while afterwards.”
He there adds other reasons for the same opinions.

Nevertheless, undoubtedly, it would be more commodious for the support of the notion advanced by him, to suppose, that Ammonius, from whom all that *disturbance* proceeded, was a Christian, or a half-Christian, or somewhat like it. Accordingly, Mr. Mosheim, has since altered his opinion concerning that great (*u*) man. I do not allege his reasons, which appear to me to be of no weight, and tend only to form a character, which never existed any where, and was never heard of before. And is indeed meer invention, without evidence.

Eusebius must have been mistaken. Ammonius, master of Plotinus, could not be the author of the Christian books mentioned by him. They must have been writ by another of that name, which, probably, was not uncommon among the Egyptians. Porphyrie may have been mistaken about his early life. He must have known what was his character, when he taught philosophie in the later part of his life. And it is agreeable to what is said of Ammonius by (*x*)

Lon-

(*u*) Magnis certant argumentis, qui Porphyrio adsentiuntur : quibus ego motus ipse olim affirmare non dubitavi, Ammonium sacra Christiana deseruisse. . . . Dum vero denuo hanc litem pertracto, in eam fere descendo sententiam, Ammonium licet valde mutatum, et a communibus Christianorum dogmatibus alienatum, a Christianis tamen haud palam secessisse, veramque disciplinam suam occultasse. &c. &c. *De Reb. Christianor. Sec. Secund. §. xxvii. p. 281. &c. et §. 28. p. 283. &c.*

This last opinion, as I suppose, Mosheim continued to maintain : and at p. 78. of *Institutiones Historiae Eccles. §. vii.* has these words. Haec philosophandi ratio mutabatur, quum Ammonius Saccas,

occidente jam seculo, [*secundo*] scholam Alexandriae magno cum plausu aperiret, et sectae illius, quae recentior platonica dicitur, fundamenta jaceret. Homo hic Christianus, et fortassis ad obitum usque Christianae religionis simulator. . . . &c. And at p. 126. of the same work he says : *Ammonius Harmoniam Evangeliorum composuit.* See Mr. Maclain's version, p. 143. But I must take the liberty to say : It appears to me very strange, that any learned man should be able to persuade himself, that the *Harmonie of the Gospels* was composed by Ammonius, master of Plotinus.

(*x*) *Vid. Longini fragmenta. p. 246. edit. Tellii.*

Longinus, and (y) *Ammianus Marcellinus*. Who also is called the (z) *Divine Ammonius* by *Hierocles*, another celebrated Philosopher of Alexandria, in the fifth centurie.

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Whence it came to pass, that Eusebius was so mistaken about Ammonius, cannot be said now. But I am persuaded, that he did not learn it from Origen. The contrarie may be perceived from a part of a letter of Origen, preserved in Eusebius: and which, I think, is decisive, and may fully satisfy us, that *Ammonius* was a Heathen Philosopher. I therefore transcribe it largely. And it follows in course immediatly after his remarks upon Porphyrie. “ All (a) this
“ I have said for convicting that liar, and for shewing Origen’s great
“ skill in the Greek learning. Concerning which Origen himself
“ speaks also in a letter, in which he makes an apologie for him-
“ self, to those who blamed him for his so much attending to that
“ sort of literature. *When*, says he, *I was wholly employed in read-
“ ing and explaining the word of God, the reputation of my progresse
“ being spread abroad every where, there came to me some heretics, and
“ also some others, studious of Greek literature, and particularly of phi-
“ losophie. I therefore thought it expedient for me to make inquiries
“ into the opinions of heretics, and likewise the sentiments of the Phi-
“ losophers, who boast much of their teaching the truth. This we did,
“ in imitation of Panténus, who before us excelled in that knowledge:
“ as (b) also of Heraclas, who is now Presbyter in the church of Alex-
“ andria. Whom I found with a master of philosophical learning, un-
“ der whom he had studied five years, before I began to be an auditor
“ of*

(y) et Saccas Ammonius Plotini magister. &c. *Marcellin.* l. 22. cap. xvi. p. 374.

(z) Καὶ διέμενε τὸ τοῦ πάθος τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐνσκήψαν, ἕως Ἀμμωνίου τῷ θεοδιδάκτε. *Ap. Phot. Cod.* 251. p. 1381. m.

(a) *Euseb. H. E.* l. 6. cap. 19. p. 221.

(b) . . . καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καθεζόμενον Ἀλεξανδρέων Ηρακλᾶν ὄντινα ἔυρον παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ τῶν φιλοσόφων μαθημάτων, ἥδη πέντε ἔτεσιν αὐτῷ προσκαρτήσαντα, πρὶν ἐμὲ ἀρξασθαι ἀκῆν ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων. κ. λ. *Ibid.* p. 221. B. C.

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“ of those discourses, who, though before he had wore the common habit,
 “ put on that of a Philosopher, which he still wears. And to this time
 “ continues diligently to read the writings of Greek Authors. Thus
 “ he speaks, apologizing for his study of the Greek learning.”

So writes Eusebius. The master of philosophical learning, on whom Heraclas attended five years, is not named. But he can be no other than Ammonius, of whom we are speaking: as is allowed by (c) Valesius, and cannot be contested by any. And I think, the coherence leads us to suppose him, without hesitation, to have been a Heathen Philosopher. In proof of which therefore I shall say nothing more.

Upon the whole, it appears to me very evident, that Ammonius, master of Plotinus, and other great men, of whom Porphyrie speaks, was a Heathen Philosopher. Ammonius, author of divers Christian writings, of whom Eusebius speaks, was a genuine Christian, without any exceptions ever made to his Christianity, that we know of. Nor does it appear from Antiquity, that his faith was corrupted with any mixtures of Heathenish doctrines * * *.

The

(c) Est his verbis colligere est, originem eodem magistro quo Heraclam usum esse in philosophia. Vocabatur autem ille Ammonius, ut Porphyrius supra dixit. Vir fuit sui temporis philosophorum celeberrimus. Vales. ad Eusebii locum.

* * Mr. Mosheim, as seems to me, is so intent upon his notion of a late, or modern sect of Platonic Philosophers, as to forget himself sometimes. In his Institutions he says, that Celsus, who wrote against the Christians, was not, as Origen thought, an Epicurean, but a Platonic Philosopher, of the Sect of Ammonius. Libro ex instituto Christianos oppugnavit Celsus philosophus, quem Origenes, a quo con-

futatus est, Epicureum facit, nos firmiter argumentis ducti, Platonicum fuisse, ex Ammonii secta putamus. Instit. H. E. Sec. 2. P. i. cap. ii. p. 75. And to the like purpose in his work De Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 255. 256. But how could that be? How should Celsus be a follower of Ammonius, who lived a good while before Ammonius? Celsus lived, and wrote in the second century. Ammonius did not flourish before the third century. Plotinus, as we know from Porphyrie, came to study under Ammonius, at Alexandria, in the 28. year of his age, in the year of Christ 232. and staid with him eleven years, leaving him

in

The design of all these observations is to shew, that *Ammonius*, called *Saccas*, was a Heathen, and that from any other character, groundlessly imputed to him, no argument can be formed in favour of the genuinenesse of the work entitled, *the Philosophie of Oracles*, ascribed to *Porphyrie*.

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Many learned men, as just seen, have received it, and quoted it, as his. But *Vandale* (*d*) considers it as a spurious work. And as it is now a good while since he delivered his opinion about it, I cannot but wonder, that none of the learned men abovementioned, have attended to his argument. I likewise many years ago expressed my suspicions about the genuinenesse (*e*) of it. And still it appears to me to have in it plain marks of forgerie. I shall now give my reasons at length, and in such a manner, as to allege those passages of it, which

in the 38 or 39 year of his age, in the year of Christ 242. *Vide Porphy. de Vita Plotini. cap. 3 et Conspectus Vitae Plotini: ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 4. p. 88. 89.* Which plainly shews, that *Ammonius* did not flourish before the beginning of the third centurie. Moreover *Origen* was a hearer of *Ammonius*. If *Celsus* also had studied under him, he and *Origen* might have been fellow-disciples. Or, suppose, that *Celsus* was a little older, and had preceded him in the same school, *Origen* could not have been altogether unacquainted with him. Whereas, we have learned from *Origen* himself, that he knew of two only of that name, one who lived in the time of *Nero*, the other in the time of *Adrian*, and afterwards. See the 2d. vol. of this Work, p. 269.

(*d*) Circa hanc rem tamen, non tam mihi oboritur admiratio, . . . *Baronium*, a-

liosque, etiam magni nominis viros, foede satis lapsos . . . quam magnum illum, immo maximum . . . *Hugonem Grotium*, ex *Porphyrio* (in notis suis ad librum de V. R. C.) protulisse oracula, quasi *Hecates* de Christo, deque ejus dignitate, &c. eadem facilitate, quâ illa ipsa ex *Porphyrio* transcripserat *Eusebius*. Nam quod *Porphyrius*, irrifor ille Christi, Christianaeque Doctrinae, talia unquam de Domino nostro *Jesu Christo* testatus est, quis credat? Nisi simul credat, *Porphyrium* hunc ipsum nesciisse quid, et in quos scripserit, atque in quorum gratiam haec sic dicta oracula protulerit: adeoque ipsum fuisse hominem delirum, nec cui quid pro aut contra differeret, constaret. *Vandale De Orac. Ethnic. p. 14. Amst. 8vo. 1683.*

(*e*) See *Credib. P. 2. Vol. 8. p. 60.*

A. D. 270. which are favorable to Christianity, and ought to be alleged as Porphyrie's, if this work could be allowed to be genuine.

1. The first mark of forgerie is in the introduction, in which the author makes professions of veracity in terms so strong, as to raise a suspicion of some bad design.

Eusebius proceeding to quote this book, says, "he (f) will not
" insist on the testimonie of friends, which might be of little va-
" lue, but those of strangers, not of our body. And of all the Greek
" historians, and philosophers that ever were, none can be more
" fitly alleged here, than (g) that very friend of demons, who in
" our time has gained so much reputation by the falsehoods, which
" he has published against us. In the work, which he has writ of
" the Philosophie from Oracles, he has made a collection of the
" oracles of Apollo, and the other Gods, and good demons."

" And, says Eusebius, it will be worth the while, in the first
" place, to observe, how the forementioned person begins his work,
" confirming the truth of what he says by an oath, in these very
" words. " *For, says (b) he, I call the gods to witnesse, that I have*
" *added nothing to the sense of what has been delivered by oracle. Nor*
" *have I taken any thing from it. I have only corrected some literal*
" *mistakes, or supplied the metre, when it was defective, or have left*
" *out some things not material. But whatever alterations of this kind*
" *I have made, I have preserved the sense entire: being more afraid*
" *of committing such an impiety, than of undergoing the penalty of sa-*
" *crilege.*"

This asseveration of veracity is abundantly too strong. An honest man can seldom have occasion for such solemnity in his writings.

Nor

(f) *Pr. Ev. l. 4. cap. vi. p. 142. 143.*

(g) ... τὸν δαιμόνων φίλον αὐτὸν ἐκείνον,
ὅς δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονὼς, τοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐλ-
λαμπρύνεται ψεύδηγορίαις. . . . Οὗτος τοι-
γαρ ἐν αἷς ἐπέγραφε περὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγιων φε-

λοσοφίας, συναγωγὴν ἐποίησατο χρησμῶν τῶν
τε Απόλλωνος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν τε καὶ ἀγα-
θῶν δαιμόνων.

(b) *Ib. cap. vii. p. 143.*

Nor do I perceive any reason, that Porphyrie should have to prefix such an introduction to any thing he had to say about philosophic, or theologie.

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2. Another mark of forgerie is the strict injunction of silence, contained also in this author's introduction to his work.

Eusebius goes on in the same place. "After (i) that preface to his work, he earnestly requires, and enjoyns, that what he is about to say, should not be divulged. And in these very words. *Thou therefore above all take care, not to publish these things, nor to mention them before the profane, neither for the sake of glorie, or of gain, or any other low advantage. For thereby will accrue danger not only to thy-self for transgressing this precept, but to me also, who have too easily confided in a person not able to conceal such benefits. But (k) they may be communicated to such as order the course of their life with a view to the salvation of the soul.* And afterwards he adds: *Thou (l) art to conceal these things, as the greatest of secrets. For neither have the Gods spoke plainly of themselves in their oracles, but obscurely.*"

This strict injunction of silence is another just ground of suspicion. It affords reason to believe, that this work could not bear the examination of the publick. Moreover here is a Christian phrase. *It may be communicated to such as order the course of their life with a view to the salvation of the soul.* A like phrase, *hopes (m) of salvation*, occurs in what Eusebius calls the preface, of which, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted a part, and have taken only the oath of veracity.

It contains a long oracle in verse, and then the writer's explanation.

(i) *Ib. cap. viii. p. 144.*

(k) *Δοτέον δὴ τοῖς τὸν βίον ἐνσησαμένοις πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρίαν. P. 144. B.*

(l) *Ταῦτά μοι, ὡς ἀρρήτων τὰ ἀρρητότερα κρύπτειν. Ὅυδ' ἔγὰρ οἱ θεοὶ φανερώς περὶ αὐ-*

τῶν ἐθέσπισαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀινυμάτων. P.

144. C.

(m) *... ὡς αὖ ἐκ μόνου βεβαίως τὰς ἐλπίδας*

τῶ-σώθῃναι ἀρυττόμενος. P. 143. C.

(n) *ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὅρῳ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν τῷ ὅρῳ*

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It is hence plain, that this work was to be communicated to Christians only. But why so, provided these oracles were genuine? For, if they had really been delivered by the Gods, they must have been of as much advantage to Heathens, as to Christians: or rather more to the former, who, as one might think, should have greater regard to what their Gods said, than Christians, who believed those Gods to be no other than evil demons.

3. This book is not Porphyrie's, because it often notoriously contradicts the sentiments, which Porphyrie has delivered in those writings, which are certainly his.

In his work of Abstinence from animals, he starts an objection. *"If (n) animals are not to be killed, we shall be deprived of the benefits of divination, which depends upon searching their entrails. To which he answers, that a Philosopher, abstracted from the world, seldom has occasion to go to demons, or priests, and diviners, and the entrails of animals. He rarely wants advice about marriage, a lost servant, commerce. And as for things of religion, he consults his own breast, and goes to God dwelling in him. Concerning (o) such things, as he is most desirous to know, no certain information can be had from diviners, and the entrails of animals."*

After such a declaration, it seems improbable, that Porphyrie should consult oracles concerning any point, especially about the Christian Religion, concerning which he had long ago formed his judgement, and had published it to the world in books writ with great diligence and earnestness.

But passing over that, there is an instance of contradiction in the first quotation, which Eusebius makes after the preface to this work. It contains a long oracle in verse, and then the writer's explication, and observations, in prose, according to the usual method of this work.

In

(n) *Abſtinentia*, Eccl. l. 2. cap. 51. 52. ἡ δὲ σπλάγχνα ζώων μνηύσει τὸ σαφές. Ib.
(o) Περὶ ὧν δὲ ζητεῖ, μάντις μὲν ἔδειξ, cap. 52.

In this oracle Apollo himself reckons up the several kinds of deities, heavenly, aërial, earthly, subterraneous, and teaches, what animals, and of what colours, ought to be offered to those several deities, and in what manner. After producing that passage, “now,” says (p) Eusebius, compare this discourse with what the same author has said in his books, which he entitles *Of Abstinence from animals*. For there he very rationally teaches, that sacrifices and incense are not to be offered to the God over all, nor to the divine and heavenly powers next after him. And proceeds so far as to say, that they deserve not to be accounted Gods, who delight in such sacrifices. For the killing of animals is a great and detestable impiety, and therefore not acceptable to the Gods. Whence it appears, adds Eusebius, that his God is condemned. For, as he says, the oracle commanded, animals to be sacrificed not only to the subterraneous deities, but also to the aërial, and heavenly, and ethereal. Thus Apollo directs here. But he [*in the other work*] citing also Theophrastus to the same purpose, says, that sacrifices of animals ought not to be offered to gods, but only to demons. So that, according to himself, and Theophrastus, Apollo is no god, but a demon. Nor are the other, who are called gods, any better, who are every where worshiped with animals by princes and people, in cities and villages.” Very right.

Nevertheless the present argumentation is of no weight. There ought first of all to be good proof of the genuineness of a writing, that contradicts the sentiments, which an author has advanced in another work, evidently his, and that not by the by only, but on set purpose, and in a long series of arguments, of which he appears to be fully persuaded.

If the books *de Abſtinentia*, &c. are Porphyrie’s, (as they undoubtedly are) and if the sentiments therein taught, contradict those of *the Philosophie of Oracles*, this last is not genuine. Indeed, this appears to

(p) *Pr. Evang. l. 4. cap. 9. p. 145. . . 147.*

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to be the work of some Christian, who intended to decry the Heathen worship, and all the whole system of Heathen theologie.

I forbear to allege passages of these oracles at length, in which the Gods are reviled in a manner very agreeable to the Christian notions of them at that time. But I ought not to omit to observe, that they are here represented, as acknowledging themselves compelled to answer the questions put to them. "One says: Hear (*q*) me speaking unwillingly, what necessity obliges me to say." In another of these oracles Apollo says: "This (*r*) is a powerfull and hard necessity laid upon me." When they have been brought down from heaven to answer the inquiries made of them, they (*s*) earnestly solicit a return, and to be let go away. The Gods of this work likewise are made to (*t*) teach the art magick.

But it is time to have done with these absurdities. If Porphyrie was not a Christian, but a Heathen Philosopher, and an enemy to the Christians, this work is not his.

4. In this work are many things very favorable to the Christian Religion. Therefore it cannot be Porphyrie's, who wrote against the Christians, and long afterwards lay under great reproach upon that account, as the worst and most abusive enemy they ever had.

Here I shall produce those passages, which ought to have been alleged before, if it could with good reason be supposed, that this work was composed by Porphyrie.

In his Evangelic Preparation Eusebius writes thus: "Porphyrie (*u*) in the first book of the Philosophie taught by oracles, brings
" in

(*q*) Καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος ἀναγκαζόμενος ἔφη·
Κλυθί μεν ἐκ ἐθέλοντος, ἐπεὶ μὲν ἐπεδήσας
ἀνάγκη. *Pr. Ev. l. v. §. 8. p. 194. B.*

(*r*) "Ουνομ' ἀναγκαίης τόδε κάρτερον, ἢ δ'
ἔτι βριθύ. *Ib. C.*

(*s*) Λίετε λοιπὸν ἀνακτα. . . *c. 9. p. 195.*

(*t*) *Cap. 14. p. 202.*

(*u*) Ὁ δὲ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἐκ
λογίων φιλοσοφίας αὐτὸν εἰσάγει τὸν ἑαυτῷ θεόν,
τῷ Εβραίων γένει, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ συ-
νέσει βωομένων ἐθνῶν σοφίαν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντα.
κ. λ. *Pr. Ev. l. 9. cap. x. p. 412. 413.*

“ in his own God bearing witness to the wisdom of the Hebrews,
 “ together with other people, who were renowned for their learn-
 “ ing and knowledge. It is Apollo, says Eusebius, that speaks in
 “ this oracle, and it follows what had been before delivered con-
 “ cerning sacrifices. And he demands especial attention, as to words
 “ full of divine wisdom. *The way leading to the Gods is difficult and*
 “ *rough, and the entrance shut with brazen doors. The Phenicians,*
 “ *the Assyrians, the Lydians, and Hebrews, have found out many ways*
 “ *to the seat of the blessed. [All that in verse.] To which the au-*
 “ *thor subjoins. The way leading to the Gods is shut with brasen*
 “ *bolts, and is rugged and difficult. The Barbarians have found out*
 “ *many paths. But the Greeks have quite wandered out of the way.*
 “ *And (x) they who now prevail have corrupted it. But the God de-*
 “ *clared, that the finding it out, was owing to the Egyptians, the Phe-*
 “ *nicians, the Chaldeans, the Lydians, and the Hebrews.*”

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This passage of the author, subjoyned to the oracle, by way of explication, is also cited at length by (y) Theodoret, as Porphyrie's, and from the same work, the Philosophie of Oracles.

It follows, in Eusebius, immediatly after what has been just quoted. “ And (z) moreover, in another oracle Apollo says: *The Chal-*
 “ *deans only, and the Hebrews, have attained to wisdom, chastly wor-*
 “ *shipping the self-existent King, and God.*”

Upon the foregoing quotations I now make these remarks.

1.) It is very strange, that Apollo should say, *the Hebrews had found out some of the ways to the gods, and to happiness*: and that, when going to deliver such an observation, he should demand espe-

cial

(x) οἱ δὲ κρατύντες ἤδη, καὶ διέφθειραν.
 p. 413. B.

(y) Gr. Aff. Serm. i. T. 4. p. 471. 472.

(z) Ἐτι δὲ πρὸς ταύταις ἐν ἑτέρῳ χρησμῷ
 φησιν ὁ Απόλλων.

Μῆνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίαν λάχον, ἢ δ' ἄρ' Εβραῖοι
 Αυτογενέθλον ἀνάκτα σεβάζομενοι θεὸν ἀγνώσκειν.
 Ib. p. 413.

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cial attention. It is as strange, that Apollo should say, as he is afterwards made to do, that *the Chaldeans only, and the Hebrews had attained to wisdom, chastly worshiping the eternal King and God.* And is this the work of Porphyrie? Is Porphyrie become so fond of the Jews, who, as Eusebius assured us not long ago, in his work against the Christians, *equally reviled us, and the Hebrews, and Moses himself, and the Prophets after him.* Or rather, is Porphyrie, who wrote against the Christians, and, as is generally said, with great virulence, become himself a convert, and concerned to make converts to Christianity? For, to recommend the *Hebrews*, and their principles, is, at least preparatorie to Christianity. Theodoret therefore having made that quotation, as above observed, and, as Porphyrie's, goes on very rationally. "If (a) our greatest enemy chargeth the Greeks as in error, and ascribes the knowledge of truth to the Hebrews, and the Phenicians, and Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and says, that Apollo has so taught. Why do you not hearken to your own Philosopher, and receive the oracle of the delphic tripod, and learn of the Hebrew Prophets and Apostles? And what follows." Very just reasoning!

Surely, it is altogether incongruous, to suppose, that Porphyrie should place the *Greeks* the lowest of all nations in the search of wisdom, and say, that the *Barbarians had found out many paths to it, whilst the Greeks had wandred quite out of the way.* It is as improbable, that Apollo should give the honour of this invention to the Hebrews, and others, rather than to the Greeks.

2.) This book was writ after the establishment of Christianity by Constantin. For the author, as we have just seen, speaks of the Christian, as the prevailing religion. *They who now prevail, have corrupted it:* or, according to a different pointing, *they who prevail, have*

(a) 'Εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐχθιστὸς κατηγορεῖται μὲν ἐλλήνων, ὡς πλάνη δεδελθέντων . . . τί δὴ ποτε μὴ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ πείθεσθε τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, . . . καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῖς Ἑβραίων προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις παρέχετε; Gr. Aff. Serm. i. p. 472.

have already corrupted it. There is no reason to believe, that *Porphyrie* lived to the time of Constantin's conversion to Christianity. The composer of this work here forgot the character, which he had assumed. He pretended to be *Porphyrie*. But did not now consider, that *Porphyrie* had died, before the Christian could be called *the prevailing religion*, or the Christians, *the men that prevailed*. However, it must be owned, that in what the author here says, he is upon his guard, and he casts a reflexion upon these men, as having corrupted philosophie, or the knowledge of wisdom. But it is a thin disguise, easily seen through.

I make no more remarks upon what is already transcribed, but proceed to another passage of this work.

5. In his Evangelic Demonstration, Eusebius expresseth himself in this pompous manner.

“ But (*b*) if none of these things will convince you, hearken to
 “ your demons, and gods, speaking in their oracles, who impute
 “ to our Saviour, not imposture, as you do, but piety, and wisdom,
 “ and ascent to heaven. What more credible assurance can you
 “ have of this, than the testimonie of our enemy, who in the third
 “ book of his work entituled of the Philosophie taught by oracles,
 “ speaks in these very words: *It will perhaps seem strange to some,*
 “ *which we are about to say. For the Gods declared Christ to be most*
 “ *pious, and to be made immortal, and they spoke honorably of him.*
 “ And presently after he says: *When we inquired concerning Christ,*
 “ *whether he be a God, the answer was: That the soul is immortal af-*
 “ *ter the death of the body, knows every body, who is favored with*
 “ *wis-*

(*b*) . . . Ἄλλὰ σύγε, καὶ τῶν σαυτῆ δαιμόνων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν χρησμοδῶν θεῶν ἄκκε, τῶ σωτήρι ἡμῶν ἔχ' ὥσπερ σὺ γοητεῖαν, ἀλλ' ἐν-
 σέβειαν, καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ ἐκ ὑρανεῶς ἀνοδὸν μαρτυ-
 ρόντων. *Dem. Ev. l. 3. cap. vi. p. 133.*
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“ wisdom. But (c) the soul of that man is most eminent for piety. Him
“ therefore he declared to be most pious, and his soul, like the souls of
“ others, after death made immortal, which (d) the ignorant Christians
“ worship. Then, when we asked, why he was put to death, the ora-
“ cular answer was: The body is always liable to slight torments.
“ But the soul of the pious escapes to the heavenly countrey. And af-
“ ter the oracle, he adds: He therefore is pious, and is gone to Hea-
“ ven, as the pious do. Him therefore you are not to blaspheme, but
“ to pity the ignorance of men. Thus writes Porphyrie.”

Here the composer of this work was upon his guard. But not so Eusebius, who receives all without hesitation. The author was aware, that what he was about to say was very unlikely. He therefore introduceth it with that preface. *It may seem strange, which we are going to say.* And he afterwards throws in a reflexion upon the Christians, as if they carried their respect for Christ too far. However, he, and his God, bear an honorable testimonie to Jesus, as we have seen.

Porphyrie, in this work, and his Gods, as Eusebius says; *impute not to our Saviour, imposture, but piety, and wisdom, and ascent to heaven.* But who can believe that, when Porphyrie had writ a large work, the great design of which, in his remarks upon the book of Daniel, and elsewhere, was to prove Jesus an impostor? And is Porphyrie now become an Apostle, preaching to the world Christ's resurrection and ascension?

Eunapius indeed, in his Life of Porphyrie, says, “ that (e) he
“ lived to a great age. Whence it came to pass, that he has left
“ many sentiments different from those which he had delivered in
“ works

(c) . . . ἀλλάγε ψυχῇ

Ανέρος εὐσεβῆ προφανεσάτη ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε.

(d) ἢν σέβειν ἀνοῦντας τὸς Χριστιανούς.

(e) . . . πολλὰς γὰρ τοῖς ἤδη προπεπραγματοτεμένοις βιβλίοις θεωρίας ἐναντίας κατέλειπε.

Eunap. Vit. Porph. ad fin.

"works formerly writ." But that may relate to some lesser matters only. We still have his *life of Plotinus*, writ, when he was seventy years old, or thereabout. Where he appears a true Heathen Philosopher.

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To me it seems very strange, that any Christian, especially a learned Christian, should call upon Heathen people, as Eusebius here does, *to hearken to their demons, and gods, speaking in their oracles*. Who might know, from the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as well as from reason, that (f) Heathen Deities were *nothing*, and had neither power, nor wisdom. If they were any thing, they were evil spirits, and their testimonies were of no value. Our Lord never received the testimonie of men, who were supposed to be acted by demons. St. Paul did not value the testimonie of the young woman at Philippi, who was said to have a spirit of Python. Acts xvi. 16. And I am persuaded, that our Saviour will never thank any of his followers for bringing in demons, or Heathen Deities in their oracles, speaking in his favour. May I not here adopt the language of St. Paul, upon another occasion, and say: *What communion has light with darknesse? And what concord has Christ with Belial? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?* 2 Cor. vi. 14... 16.

6. Once more, this work, of *the Philosophie of Oracles*, is rarely mentioned by Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. Therefore it was little known, or not known to be writ by so considerable a man, as *Porphyrus*, who had writ against the Christians.

E e 2 It

(f) Christians sometimes speak very justly, agreeably to the doctrine of the ancient Prophets, that all the gods of the Heathens were vanity, or senseless idols. It is a pity, that they are not always consistent with themselves. Et idola quidem omni sensu carere, quis dubitet? Verum tamen cum his locantur sedibus, honorabili sublimitate, ut a precantibus atque

immolantibus adtendantur, ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum, quamvis insensata et exanima, afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere et spirare videantur: accedente praesertim veneratione multitudinis, quâ tantus eis cultus impenditur. *August. ep. 102. al. 49. n. 18.* An excellent observation of that great and eminent ancient.

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It is often quoted by Eusebius, as we have seen. It was also known, as it seems, to (g) Julius Firmicus Maternus, about the middle of the fourth century. It is also quoted by Theodoret, about 420. as we have seen: but not very often. It is likewise quoted by Augustin in the fifth century. I shall transcribe him presently, with remarks. But these are a very few only. I forbear to enumerate here the names of the many writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who have taken no notice of this work. But it appears to me a great objection against its genuineness, that it is never mentioned in any of the numerous works of Jerome, or Cyril of Alexandria. Jerome wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, and has often taken notice of Porphyrie: but says nothing of this work. Cyril lived in the fifth century, and published a work against the Emperour Julian in ten books. In that work he has quoted divers of Porphyrie's writings, and made good use of them: his Philosophic Historie, Of Abstinence from animals, and some others. These Cyril quotes often, and largely. But has not once quoted, or named this work, of the Philosophie taught by oracles.

He has, it is true, the verses before quoted from Eusebius, which are likewise partly in Augustin: but not as taken from any writing of Porphyrie, nor as a certain thing, but in this manner. “ When, “ (b) says Cyril, some body came to the Pythoneffe at the temple “ of Apollo, and inquired which nations were wisest; it is said, the “ demon there gave this answer: The Chaldeans only have obtain- “ ed wisdom: But the Hebrews worship the self-existent King, “ God himself. And Porphyrie makes mention of the Essens of “ Judea

(g) *J. F. M. de Errone Prof. Rel. p.*
432. 433. *ed. Gronov. 1709.*

(b) Αφικομένε γάρ τινος Πυθοῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἀ-
πόλλωνος νεῶν, ἐρομένε τε καὶ ἀναμαθεῖν ἐθέλον-
τοι, τίνες ἂν ᾔσαν ὅτι μάλιστα σοφοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν;
χρῆσαι φασὶ τὸν ἀντίτι δαίμονα.

Μῦται Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, οἱ δ' ἂν Ἑβραῖοι
Αὐτογένητον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν αὐτόν.
Διαμέμνηται δὲ καὶ Πορφύριος τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίαν
Εσσαίων, καὶ φησὶν ὡς περὶ αὐτῶν. *Contr.*
Jul. l. 5. p. 180.

“ Judea in these words.” Where Cyril proceeds to quote a passage of the fourth book of his Abstinence from animals, cap. 13. though without saying from what work of Porphyrie he takes it. It is plain, that Cyril does not quote that oracle from any work of Porphyrie.

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It is likely, that in Cyril's time it was a common storie, that the Pythian oracle had some time delivered such an answer as this. But he would not vouch for the truth of the relation. The same is in Justin Martyr's Cohortatio ad Graecos, if it be his. And it is brought in much after the same manner, as in Cyril. “ When (*i*) one, as “ you say, asked your oracle, who had been religious men, the oracle, as you say, gave this answer :

“ The Chaldeans only have obtained wisdom, and the Hebrews “ worship the self-existent King, God himself.”

7. We will now see what Augustin says of this work.

He is shewing, that the God, whom the Christians worship is the true God. “ Lastly, says (*k*) he, He is God, whom Porphyrie, the “ most learned of the Philosophers, though a bitter enemy of the “ Christians, and also the oracles, whom he thinks to be gods, acknowledge to be the great God.”

Augustin's
Account
of this
Work.

“ For (*l*) in his books, which he calls the Philosophie of oracles, “ and

(*i*) Ερομένε γάρ τινός, ὡς αὐτοὶ φατε, τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν χρηστηρίῳ, τίνας συνέβη θεσσεύεσθαι ἀνδρας γεγενῆσθαι ποτε, ἔτω τὸ χρηστήριον εἰρηκέναι φατέ.

Μῆνοι Καλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἥδ' ἂρ Ἑβραῖοι·
Αὐτογένητόν ἀνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν αὐτόν.
Just. M. ad Gr. Coh. p. 15. Ben. 12. Par.

(*k*) Postremo ipse est Deus, quem doctissimus philosophorum, quamvis Christianorum acerrimus inimicus, etiam per eo-

rum oracula, quos Deos putat, Deum magnum Porphyrius confitetur. *De Civ. Dei. l. 19. cap. 22.*

(*l*) Nam in libris, quos ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας appellat, in quibus exsequitur, atque conscribit rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium velut divina responsa, ut ipsa verba ejus, quemadmodum ex lingua Graeca in Latinam interpretata sunt, ponam. Interroganti, inquit, quem Deum placando revocare possit uxorem suam a Christianismo, haec ait versibus Apollo. Deinde

A. D. " and writes of things pertaining to Philosophie, as delivered in an-
 270. " swers from the Gods, he speaks to this purpose. And I shall put
 " down

inde verba velut Apollinis ista sunt : Forte magis poteris in aqua impressis literis scribere, aut ad instans pennas leves per aëra ut avis volare, quam semel pollutae revoces impiae uxoris sensum. Pergat quomodo vult inanibus fallaciis perseverans, et lamentationibus fallacissimis mortuum Deum cantans, quem iudicibus recta sentientibus perditum, pessima in speciosis ferro juncta mors interfecit. Deinde post hos versus Apollinis, qui non stante metro Latine interpretati sunt, subjunxit, atque ait : In his quidem tergi-
 versionem irremediabilis sententiae eorum manifestavit, dicens, Quoniam Judaei suscipiunt Deum magis quam isti. Ecce ubi decolorans Christum, Judaeos praeposuit Christianis, confitens, quod Judaei suscipiunt Deum. Sic enim exposuit versus Apollinis, ubi a iudicibus recta sentientibus Christum dicit occisum, tanquam illis iuste judicantibus, merito sit ille punitus. Viderit quid de Christo vates mendax Apollinis dixerit, atque iste crediderit : aut fortasse vatem, quod non dixerit, dixisse iste ipse confixerit. Quam vero sibi constet, vel ipsa oracula inter se faciat convenire, postea videbimus. Hic tamen Judaeos, tanquam Dei susceptores, recte dicit judicasse de Christo, quod eum morte pessima excruciantum esse censuerint. Deus itaque Judaeorum, cui perhibet testimonium, audiendus fuit, dicens : *Sacrificans Diis eradicabitur, nisi Domino tantum.* Ex. xxii. 20. Sed ad manifestiora veniamus, et audiamus quam magnum Deum dicat esse Judaeorum. Item

ad ea quae interrogavit Apollinem, quid melius, five verbum five ratio, an lex. Respondit, inquit, versibus haec dicens. Ac deinde subjicit versibus, et in quibus et ista sunt, ut quantum fatis est, inde decerpam : In Deum, inquit, generatorem, et regem ante omnia, quem tremit coelum et terra, atque mare, et infernorum abdita, et ipsa numina perhorrescunt : quorum lex est Pater, quem valde sancti honorant Hebraei. Tali oraculo Dei sui Apollinis, Porphyrius tam magnum Deum dixit Hebraeorum, ut eum, et ipsa numina perhorrescunt : quorum lex est Pater, quem valde sancti honorant Hebraei. Tali oraculo dei sui Apollinis, Porphyrius tam magnum Deum dixit Hebraeorum, ut eum et ipsa numina perhorrescant. Cum ergo Deus iste dixerit, *Sacrificans Diis eradicabitur*, miror, quod ipse Porphyrius non perhorruerit, et sacrificans Diis non formidaverit. *Cap. 23. n. 1.*

2. Dicit etiam bona philosophus iste de Christo, quasi oblitus illius, de qua paulo ante locuti sumus, contumeliae suae : aut quasi in somnis dii ejus maledixerint Christo, et vigilantes bonum esse cognoverint, digneque laudaverint. Denique, tanquam mirabile aliquid atque incredibile prolaturus, praeter opinionem, inquit, profecto quibusdam videatur esse, quod dicturi sumus. Christum enim Dii piissimum pronuntiaverunt, et immortalem factum, et cum bona praedicatione ejus meminerunt. Christianos vero pollutos, inquit, et contaminatos, et errore implicatos dicunt : et multis talibus adversus eos blas-

“ down his very words, as they have been translated out of the Greek
 “ tongue into Latin. He says, when he inquired, what God he
 “ should appease, in order to reduce his wife from Christianity, A-
 “ pollo answered in verse: *Possibly you may more easily write in wa-*
 “ *ter, or fly in the air, like a bird, than convert your wife once pol-*
 “ *luted with impiety.* Let him go on, as he will, singing with his
 “ fallacious lamentations the dead God, whom the Judges rightly
 “ condemned, and the worst death destroyed. Then, after these
 “ verses of Apollo, which are not translated into good Latin metre,
 “ he subjoyns, and says: Hereby he, [the god] *expressed their in-*
 “ *curable obstinacie.* For the Jews may sooner acknowledge God, than
 “ they. Observe, how, to disparage Christ, he prefers the Jews
 “ before Christians, confessing, that the Jews acknowledge God.
 “ For so he explained the verses of Apollo, where he says, that
 “ Christ was put to death by Judges thinking right things, as if they
 “ had past a just judgement, and he had been deservedly punished.
 “ Let him see to it, what the lying priest of Apollo said of Christ,
 “ and he believed: or, perhaps, he himself pretended, the priest
 “ had said, what he did not say. But how he is consistent with him-
 “ self,

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blasphemis utuntur. Deinde subicit ve-
 lut deorum oracula blasphemantium Chri-
 stianos. Et post haec. De Christo au-
 tem, inquit, interrogantibus, si est De-
 us, ait Hecate: Quoniam quidem im-
 mortalis anima post corpus ut incedit, tu
 nosti: a sapientia autem abscissa semper
 errat: viri pietate praestantissimi est illa
 anima. Hanc colunt aliena a se veritate:
 Deinde post verba hujus quasi oraculi sua
 ipse contexens, piissimum igitur virum,
 inquit, eum dixit, et ejus animam, si-
 cut et aliorum piorum, post obitum im-
 mortalitate donatam, et hanc colere Chri-
 stiani errantes. Interrogantibus autem,
 inquit, Cur ergo damnatus est? Oraculo

respondit Dea: Corpus quidem debilitan-
 tibus tormentis semper obpositum est: a-
 nima autem piorum coelesti sede insidet.
 Illa vero anima aliis animabus fataliter
 dedit, quibus fata non annuerunt deorum
 obtinere dona, neque habere Jovis im-
 mortalis agnitionem, errore implicari.
 Propterea ergo diis exosi quia quibus fato-
 fuit non nosse Deum, nec dona a diis ac-
 cipere, his fataliter dedit iste errore impli-
 cari. Ipse vero pius, et in coelum, sicut
 pii, concessit. Itaque hunc quidem non
 blasphemabis, misereberis autem homi-
 num dementiam, ex eo in eis facile prae-
 cepisque periculum. *Ib. n. 2.*

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 “ However, here he says, the Jews, as worshipers of God, judged
 “ rightly concerning Christ, when they condemned him to suffer
 “ the worst death. Therefore the God of the Jews, to whom he
 “ bears this testimonie, ought to be heard, who says: *He that sa-*
 Ex. xxii. 20. “ *crificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only shall be destroyed.*
 “ But let us proceed to plainer things, and let us hear, how great
 “ a God, he says, the God of the Jews is. And therefore let us
 “ observe the question he put to Apollo, Which is the best instruc-
 “ tor, reason, or law: He says, he made the answer in verse, say-
 “ ing these things. Then he puts down Apollo’s verses, in which
 “ are these, that I may take what is sufficient: *You must worship the*
 “ *God creator, King before all things, before whom the heaven, and*
 “ *the earth, and the sea, and things hidden in the deep tremble, and*
 “ *whom the Gods themselves dread: whose law is the Father, whom*
 “ *the pious Hebrews adore.* In that oracle of his God Apollo, Por-
 “ phyrie declares, the God of the Hebrews to be so great, that the
 “ gods themselves dread him. When therefore that God has said,
 “ *he that sacrificeth to other Gods shall be destroyed:* I wonder, that
 “ Porphyrie himself did not dread him, and did not fear to be de-
 “ stroyed, when he sacrificed to other gods.”

“ This Philosopher also says good things of Christ, as if he had
 “ forgot the reproach before mentioned: or, as if his gods blas-
 “ phemed Christ in their sleep, and when they awoke, acknow-
 “ ledged his merit, and gave him due praises. Finally, then, as if
 “ he was about to say something wonderfull, and incredible, he says:
 “ *It may indeed appear strange, which we are going to say. For the*
 “ *Gods declared Christ to be most pious, and made immortal, and spoke*
 “ *honorably of him:* but, as he says, they said, *the Christians were*
 “ *polluted, and corrupted, and involved in errour.* And many such
 “ reproaches they cast upon them. Then he subjoyns oracles of
 “ the gods, reproaching the Christians. Afterwards, he says, *when*
 “ *we inquired concerning Christ, whether he be a God, Hecate answer-*
 “ *ed:*

“ *ed: That the soul after separation from the body, becometh immor-*
 “ *tal, thou knowest. A soul void of wisdom always wanders. But*
 “ *that is the soul of a man most eminent for piety. This they worship*
 “ *not rightly. Then, after the words of the oracle, he adds him-*
 “ *self. Therefore, says he, the oracle declared him to be a most pious*
 “ *man, and his soul, like the souls of other pious men, after death fa-*
 “ *vored with immortality: and that the mistaken Christians worship*
 “ *this. And, says he, when we asked, why then was he condemned?*
 “ *The Goddesse answered. The body indeed is ever liable to debilitat-*
 “ *ing torments: but the soul of the pious dwells in the heavenly mansi-*
 “ *on. But that soul has fatally been the occasion to many other souls,*
 “ *to be involved in errour, to whom it has not been given to acknow-*
 “ *ledge the immortal Jove. But himself is pious, and gone to heaven,*
 “ *as other pious men do. Him therefore thou shalt not blaspheme, but*
 “ *pity the folly of men, because of the danger they are in.*”

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“ Who (l) is so weak, says Augustin, as not to perceive, that
 “ these oracles were contrived by a cunning man, and an enemy to
 “ the Christians? or at least that those answers were given by im-
 “ pure demons, with this view, that because they commend Christ,
 “ they may be thought to speak truly, when they blame the Chri-
 “ stians: and thereby, if possible, shut up the way of salvation, in
 “ which all Christians are.”

Augustin has afterwards another quotation from this work, which
 I shall not transcribe. I only observe, “ that (m) Jesus is there spo-
 “ ken

(l) Quis ita stultus est, ut non intelli-
 gat, aut ab homine callido, eoque Chri-
 stianis inimicissimo, haec oracula fuisse
 conficta, aut consilio simili, ab impuris
 daemonibus ista fuisse responsa: ut, scilicet,
 quoniam laudant Christum, propterea
 credantur veraciter vituperare Christianos:

atque ita, si possint, intercludant viam sa-
 lutis aeternae, in qua fit quisque Christi-
 anus. *Ib. n. 3.*

(m) Ab his sapientes Hebraeorum,
 quorum iste etiam Jesus unus fuit, sicut
 audisti divina Apollinis, quae superius dic-
 ta sunt. *n. 4. ib.*

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“ ken of, as one of the Hebrew wise men, as had been before de-
“ clared in the oracles of Apollo.”

That whole quotation is taken from Augustin's large work, Of the City of God, supposed to have been writ by him between the years 413. and 426. He (n) has also referred to this book, as Porphyrie's, in his work of the Consent Of the Evangelists, writ about the year 400. where he speaks too favorably of it. I shall not translate it. But I have transcribed the passage below in Augustin's own words.

I shall now make remarks.

1.) Augustin's quotations of this work are somewhat different from those in Eusebius. Which, perhaps, is owing to the translation. For Augustin intimates, that the Latin translation, which he made use of, was not very exact.

2.) The quotations of this book in Eusebius and Augustin agree in the main. For in both the worship of the God of the Jews is recommended, and honorable mention is made of Christ, as a most excellent man, and gone to heaven.

3.) Therefore this is not a work of Porphyrie. For in his work against the Christians, as Eusebius says, he had *equally reviled the Jewish people and us, Moses, and the Jewish Prophets.*

4.) Here

(n) Quid quod isti vani Christi laudatores, et Christianae religionis obliqui ob-
trectatores, propterea non audent blasphemare Christum, quia quidem philosophi eorum, sicut in libris suis Porphyrius
ficus prodidit, consuluerunt deos suos, quid de Christo responderent, illi autem
oraculis suis Christum laudare compulsi sunt. Nec mirum, cum et in Evangelio
legamus eum daemones fuisse confesos. ...

Ac per hoc isti ne contra deorum suorum
responso contenti, continent blasphemias
a Christo, et eas in discipulos ejus effun-
dunt. Mihi autem videtur, quod illi di-
gentium, quos philosophi Paganorum con-
sulere potuerunt, etiam si de discipulis
Christi interrogarentur, ipsos quoque lau-
dare cogerentur. *De Consensu Evangelist.*
l. 1. cap. 15. Tom. 3. P. 2.

4.) Here is a storie concerning Porphyrie's wife, which we have not found in Eusebius. It is very likely to be a fiction of the writer of this work. For we do not meet with it elsewhere. Nor is the character of this work such, as alone, without any other voucher, to give it much credit. However, agreeably enough to the general design of this work, here is an honorable testimonie given to the Christians, that they were very steady in the belief and profession of their principles.

5.) In this book, as cited by Augustin, and also by Eusebius, before, are some reflexions upon Christians. They are spoken of as *in error, corrupted, and polluted*. These reflexions were inserted, as seems to me, for a disguise: that the author might cover his real intention. His design was to recommend Christianity. But he had assumed the character of a Heathen, and enemy. The better to keep up that appearance, he casts out reflexions upon the followers of Jesus. However, he does not blame them for believing in Jesus. He recommends him to all, as *most pious, and excellent, and gone to heaven*. His reflexions upon the Christians therefore, as *in error, and corrupted*, relate not to the general scheme of Christianity, which was right, but to some opinions maintained by some of it's professors. And indeed all these reflexions upon Christians, as erroneous, and ignorant, I consider as arguments of the late original of this work: and that it was not composed, till some while after the conversion of Constantine. I am not positive, what opinions the author intends. But he may have an eye to the disputes concerning the *Arian*, and other *Trinitarian* doctrines, which must have been controverted in the year 315, or sooner: before which time Porphyrie had died.

6.) The conclusion, to be made from the whole, is, that this is not a work of Porphyrie, a Heathen Philosopher, and enemy to Christianity, but of a Christian, and patron of Christianity.

Augustin himself doubted of the genuinenesse of this work, and of the oracles contained in it: though he shews it rather too much re-

A. D. 270. spect, when he proceeds to allege it, as an argument in behalf of the true Deity, saying, as above, *he is God, whom Porphyrie the most learned of the Philosophers, and the oracles alleged by him, acknowledge to be the true God.*

Augustin says very truly: *It is plain, that it is the work of some cunning man.* The self-contradictions, or the seeming self-contradictions, and inconsistencies, are plain proofs of insincerity, design, and artifice.

It is the artifice or forgerie of some Christians, designed, and contrived to serve the interests of Christianity in general, and possibly likewise of some particular notions of the author himself. Augustin, though he suspects it to be a contrivance, imagines, it may be the contrivance, not of a Christian, but of an enemy to Christians. But, so far as can be judged from what we have remaining of this work, it is not the work of an enemy, but of a friend to Christianity. Undoubtedly, it was needful to cover the forgerie of these oracles, and the real character of the writer by some things, that had the appearance of Heathenism. For the assumed character of the writer is that of an Heathen, and an enemy to Christianity. There is no doubt of that. He must therefore say some things to the disadvantage of Christianity itself, or of the professors of it. Accordingly, he has, here and there, blamed the Christians with some freedom, and seeming sharpness. And, now and then, as it should seem from Augustin's account (though that does not appear in Eusebius,) he did also, in an obscure manner, speak disrespectfully of Christ himself. But, that the writer held Christian notions, and designed to favor the cause of Christianity, is evident from his commendations of the Jews, from his recommending the worship of the God of the Jews, as the true and great God: and in that, when he said any thing to the disadvantage of Jesus, he spoke obscurely, when to his advantage, he spoke clearly. So this appears in Augustin's own account. Having shewn what the author had said of the justice of the death of Christ, in ambiguous terms, he adds: *but let us proceed to clearer things:* Where

Where the oracle and the writer plainly commend Christ. And the difference between these passages, in which Christ is reproached from those in which he is commended, is thus represented by Augustin: the former things were spoken by the gods, *when asleep, these, when they awaked.*

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How favorable to the Christian cause, this work was understood to be by Theodoret, manifestly appears from what we quoted from him some while ago, where he calls upon the Heathen people, and asks them: *Why do you not hearken to your own Philosopher, and receive the oracle of the Delphic tripod, and learn of the Hebrew Prophets and Apostles?*

Add to all this the many quotations of this work in Eusebe's Evangelical Preparation, all, some way or other, on the side of Christianity, and directly, or indirectly, reviling the Heathen Deities, and their worship: and it can be no longer doubted, that the design of this work was to favor Christianity, and weaken Heathenism. Therefore it was not composed by Porphyrie.

Eusebius, as may be remembred, introduceth his first quotation of this work, in his Preparation, after this manner: "But (o) I shall not now insist upon the testimonies of friends, which might be reckoned of little value, but of strangers. And who of all the Greek historians or philosophers can be more fitly alleged, than he, who in our time gained so much reputation by writing against us?" And again, in his Demonstration, addressing himself to Heathen people, he says: "What (p) more credible assurance can you have of this, than the testimonie of our enemy?"

The composer of this work, (whoever he was,) had the same thought. Having formed a design to exhibit a covert testimonie in behalf of Christianity, in the name of some learned Heathen, and to bring into it oracular answers of Heathen Deities; he supposed, that no fitter name could be taken, than that of *Porphyrie's*: who was in great repute for learning, and had not long since published the

(o) *Pr. Ev. l. 4. p. 142.*

(p) *Dem. Ev. l. 3. p. 134. A.*

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the bitterest invectives against Jews and Christians, and the strongest arguments, that had ever been alleged against their Scriptures. And he hoped, by this work, to overthrow *Porphyrie's* long work against the Christians, which had done so much mischief.

But it is wonderfull, that Eusebius should be so easily deceived, and adopt the same thought, and be pleased with it.

Upon the whole, this work is the artifice of some cunning, but not wise Christian.

I presume, I have now said enough to justify my not alleging any passages from this work, as testimonies of *Porphyrie*, or of any other Heathen writer, in favour of Christianity.

And though this argument has detained us a great while, perhaps, the length of it may be excused: when it is considered, how long the genuinenesse of this work has been admitted by learned men with great unanimity, and has been suspected by a very few only. If the several reasons here alleged, are not impertinent, but to the purpose, the whole argument ought not to be charged with prolixity. Learned men, as well as others, are oftentimes hard to be convinced of the falshood of an opinion once embraced by them. Nor will they yield, till they are overwhelmed by a heap of reasons.

This argument is not very honorable to our Ecclesiastical Historian. I acknowledge it. But I cannot help it. Truth must be asserted. So (*q*) says the learned and generous *HEUMANN*, arguing against such as were unwilling to allow a fault in Socrates, when he recorded the storie of *Porphyrie's* having deserted Christianity.

(*q*) Quis, inquam, non videat, narrationem istam esse referendam inter viles pannos purpuræ historiae ecclesiasticae afflutos ab hominibus minus circumspic- tis? Nec audio Celeb. Siberum, parcendum esse ducentem auctoritati scriptorum ecclesiasticorum. Imo vero non parcamus

erroribus veterum, nec ulla quantumvis clari scriptoris auctoritate absterreamur ab investigatione veri. Veterum libros legere nos oportet criticis oculis. Atqui critici est, fugere omnem προσωποληψίαν. *Heumann, Ep. Miscell. T. 3. p. 59. 60.*

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C H A P. XXXVIII.

Six Writers of the Augustan History.

I. *A general Account of these Authors.* II. *Passages of SPARTIAN concerning Septimius Severus, and Caracalla.* III. *Passages of LAMPRIDIUS concerning Helio-gabalus, and Alexander Severus.* IV. *Passages of FLAVIUS VOPISCUS concerning Adrian and Aurelian.*

I. **T**HERE (a) are six Authors, called Writers of the Augustan Historie, who have writ the historie, or rather the lives of the Roman Emperours from Adrian to Carinus. Their names are *Aelius Spartianus*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Aelius Lampridius*, *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, *Trebellius Pollio*, and *Flavius Vopiscus*: Who lived in the times of Diocletian, Constantius Chlorus, and his son Constantin the Great. Some of these Lives are inscribed to Diocletian, others to the forementioned Constantius, others to Constantin. Some are without an inscription. Nor does

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*A general
Account of
these Wri-
ters.*

(a) *Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. 2. cap. 5. Diocletien. art. 26. et 27. H. E. T. 4. p. 6. 7. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. vi. T. i. 98. &c. p. 546. &c. et T. 3. p. 83. &c. Tillemont*

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does it appear, to whom they are addressed. Nor is it absolutely certain, to which author every Life belongs. For those, which are generally ascribed to *Lampridius*, are by some ascribed to *Spartian*. They all lived much about the same time, under Diocletian and his successors, near the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century. I place them all, as at a mean, in the year 306. But I bring them in here, a little before the true order of their time, partly, that we might not be interrupted in our accounts of Diocletian's persecution: and partly, because the testimonies of these several authors relate to things near the beginning of the third century, or however some good while before the end of it.

Most of their passages concerning the Christians have been already alleged in this work, under the several Emperours, of whom they write. Nevertheless, I have a mind to take here a general review of them all together in this place, adding now one or two, which have not been yet taken notice of.

*Spartian
concerning
Severus
and Ca-
racalla.*

II. *Spartian*, in his Life of Septimius Severus, addressed to the Emperour Diocletian, says of Severus: "He (*b*) forbid under a severe penalty, that any should become Jews. A like edict was published by him against the Christians."

Spartian intends the persecution of the Christians begun in the tenth year of Severus, A. D. 202. mentioned by Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical writers, and of which we gave a distinct account some while (*c*) agoe.

2. The same historian, in (*d*) the Life of Antonin Caracalla, son and successor of Severus, says of him: "At (*e*) the age of seven years,

(*b*) Judaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. *Spartian. Sever. cap. 17. p. 618. quoted before in this volume. p. 10.*

(*c*) See before. p. 5. &c.

(*d*) It is not certainly known, to whom that Life is addressed.

(*e*) Septennis puer, quum collusorem suum puerum, ob judaicam religionem gravius verberatum audisset, neque patrem suum,

“ years, when he had heard, that a boy, his play-fellow, had been
 “ grievously beaten, because he was of the Jewish religion, he would
 “ not for a good while after so much as look upon his own Father,
 “ nor the father of the boy, nor those who had beaten him.”

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It is probable, that by the *Jewish* is here intended the *Christian religion*: forasmuch as (f) Tertullian, who lived at that time, says, that *Caracalla* was nursed by a Christian woman. Of this likewise we took notice (g) formerly.

III. *Lampridius*, in his Life of Antonin Heliogabalus, [who succeeded Macrinus and reigned from 218. to 222.] addressed to Diocletian, says: “ He (h) erected a temple upon Mount Palatin, near
 “ the Imperial palace, to the god Heliogabalus, intending to bring
 “ into that temple the image of the Mother of the Gods, and the
 “ fire of Vesta, and the Palladium, and the shields of Mars, and
 “ every object of the veneration of the Romans, that no God might
 “ be worshiped at Rome, beside Heliogabalus. He said likewise,
 “ that the Religion of the Jews, and the Samaritans, and the De-
 “ votion of the Christians, must be transferred thither, that the
 “ priesthood of Heliogabalus might comprehend in it the mysteries
 “ of all religions.” This is the passage, which I promised some
 while (*) agoe.

Lampridius concerning Heliogabalus.

This

suum, neque patrem pueri, vel auctores verberum diu respexit. *Spartian. Carac. cap. i.*

(f) *Ad. Scap. cap. 4.*

(g) *See p. 4.*

(h) Sed ubi primum ingressus est Urbem, omisis iis, quae in provincia gerebantur, Heliogabalum in Palatino monte juxta aedes Imperatorias consecravit, ei-que templum fecit, studens et Matris typum, et Vestae ignem, et Palladium, et

Ancilia, et omnia Romanorum veneranda in illud transferre templum, et id agens, ne quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. Dicebat praeterea, Judaeorum et Samaritanorum religiones, et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabi sacerdotium teneret. *Lamprid. Heliog. cap. iii. p. 796.*

(*) *See before. p. 33.*

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This (*i*) mad Emperour, remarkable for the worst follies and vices, was a native of Emesa in Syria, where the Sun was worshiped under the appellation of Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus, to whom this Emperour himself was (*k*) Priest.

There is no need to make many remarks upon this storie of Lampridius. It shews however, that the Christian Religion, though mentioned last here, as being of the latest original, was then well known in the world, and was so considerable, as not to be omitted in this Emperour's design of uniting the devotions of all men in the worship of the God, to whom he was Priest.

They, who are desirous to inform themselves concerning the origin of the name *Heliogabalus*, may consult divers learned men (*l*) whose works are in every body's hands.

Concern-
ing Alex-
ander Se-
verus.

2. The same Writer, in his Life of Alexander Severus, successor of Heliogabalus, has several passages relating to the Christians: which have been already transcribed with remarks. To which (*m*) therefore the reader is now referred.

Vopiscus.

IV. *Flavius Vopiscus*, of Syracuse, is the sixth and last of the Augustan Writers, but not the worst of them. For he is generally reckoned as learned a man, and as regular an historian, as any of them. As was observed (*) before.

I have already taken from him a large article in the chapter of the Em-

(*i*) Vitam Heliogabali Antonini impurissimam, qui Varius etiam dictus est, nunquam in literas misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas, et Neronas, et Vitellios, hoc idem habuisset imperium. *Lamprid. ibid. cap. i. p. 790.*

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Antonini Caracallae, ut putabatur filius, et sacerdos Eliogabali templi, adeo impudice in imperio suo vixit, ut nullum genus ob-

scaenitatis omiserit. *Euseb. Chron p. 173.*

(*k*) Fuit autem Heliogabalus, vel Jovis, vel Solis Sacerdos, atque Antonini sibi nomen asciverat. &c. *Lamprid. ibid. p. 793.*

(*l*) *Joseph. Scaliger. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p. 231. Basnag. ann. 218. num. viii.*

(*m*) See before. p. 34. &c.

(*) See p. 115.

Emperour *Adrian*, to (n) which the reader is referred. It is taken out of his Life of *Saturninus* (o) who was proclaimed Emperour by the soldiers at Alexandria, in the time of (p) *Probus*, and after a short reign, or rebellion and tyrannie, was put to death: and, as (q) *Eusebius* says, at *Apamea*.

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Concern-
ing *Adri-*
an.

2. The same writer, in his Life of the Emperour (r) *Aurelian*, speaks of a letter of his to the Senate of Rome, writ, probably, in the begining of his reign, in the year 270. or 271. where the Christians are mentioned. The passage was transcribed formerly, (s) with remarks. To which therefore I now refer my readers.

Concern-
ing *Aure-*
lian.

(n) See vol. 2. p. 209. &c.

(o) *Fl. Vopisc. Saturninus. cap. 7. 8.*

(p) Et ne longius progrediar, dicendum est quod praecipue ad hunc pertinet. Errare quosdam scio, et putare hunc esse *Saturninum*, qui *Gallieni* temporibus imperium occupavit: quum hic longe alius fuerit, et *Probo* pene nolente sit occisus. . . . Obsessum denique in castro quodam ab iis, quos *Probus* miserat, invito

Probo esse jugulatum. *Id. ib. cap. xi. p. 734.*

(q) *Saturninus*, magister exercitus, novam civitatem *Antiochiae* exorsus est condere. Qui postea imperium molitus invadere *Apamiae* occiditur. *Euseb. Chron. p. 177. Conf. Scaligeri Animadv. p. 241.*

(r) *Vopisc. Aurelian. cap. 20. p. 463. &c.*

(s) See before. p. 115.



C H A P. XXXIX.

Two Authors, who wrote against the Christians in the Time of Diocletian's Persecution, one Anonymous, the other supposed to be Hierocles.

Where also of Apollonius Tyanaeus, and the two Lives of Pythagoras, writ by Porphyrie, and Jamblichus.

- I. *An Anonymous Author against the Christians.* II. *Hierocles, with a large Account of his Work from Lactantius, and Eusebius.* III. *A great Cruelty of Hierocles, in the Time of Diocletian's Persecution, when he was Prefect of Alexandria.* IV. *Remarks upon the Accounts of his Work, as given by Lactantius, and Eusebius.* V. *That Apollonius was not so considerable, as many learned Men of late Times have supposed.* VI. *A large Account of the Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus, writ by Philostratus, with Remarks upon*

upon it, shewing, that it was not writ with a design to oppose the Miracles of our Saviour. VII. An Account of the Lives of Pythagoras, writ by Porphyrie, and Jamblichus, with Remarks upon them, shewing, that in those Works there was not any Intention to oppose the Christian Religion. VIII. Another Work of Jamblichus concerning the images of the Gods.

I. **L**ACTANTIUS speaks of two professed adversaries of the Christian Religion, at the begining of Diocletian's persecution. "I forbear, says (a) he, to take notice of those, who in former

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*An, Anonymous
Writer against the
Christians*

(a) Omitto eos, qui prioribus eam temporibus nequicquam lacefferunt. Ego cum in Bithynia oratorias literas accitus docerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur: duo exstiterunt, qui jacenti atque abjectae veritati, nescio utrum superbius, an importunius insultarent. Quorum alter antistitem se philosophiae profitebatur. Verum ita vitiosus, ut continentiae magister, non minus avaritia, quam libidinibus arderet, in victu tam sumtuosus, ut in schola virtutis assertor, parsimoniae, paupertatisque laudator, in palatio pejus coenaret quam domi: tamen vitia sua capillis, et pallio, et (quod maximum est velamentum,) divitiis praetegebat: quas ut augeret, ad amicitias judicum miro ambitu penetrabat. . . . Hic vero, qui suas disputationes moribus destruebat, vel mores suos disputationibus arguebat, ipse adversus se gravis censor, et accusator acerrimus, eodem ip-

so tempore, quo justus populus nefarie lacerabatur, tres libros evomuit contra religionem, nomenque Christianum. Professus ante omnia, philosophi officium esse, erroribus hominum subvenire, atque illos ad veram viam revocare, id est, ad cultus deorum, quorum numine ac majestate, ut ille dicebat, mundus gubernetur: nec pati homines imperitos quorundam fraudibus illici: ne simplicitas eorum praedae ac pabulo sit hominibus astutis. Itaque se suscepisse hoc munus philosophia dignum, ut praeferret non videntibus lumen sapientiae, non modo, ut susceptis deorum cultibus resanescant, sed etiam ut pertinaci obstinatione deposita, corporis cruciamenta devitent, nec faevas membrorum lacerationes frustra perpeti velint. Ut autem appareret, cujus rei gratia opus illud elaborasset, effusus est in principum laudes, quorum pietas et providentia (ut quidem ipse dicebat,) cum

in

A. D. 303. “mer times in vain opposed our religion. When I taught rhetoric at Nicomedia, having been invited thither for that purpose, and at the same time the temple of God was demolished, there were two men, who with great pride unseasonably insulted the injured truth. One of whom professed himself to be a master of philosophie, but was extremely vicious. . . . This man, who overthrew his discourses by his manners, or condemned his manners by his discourses, and thus was a severe censor and bitter reprover of himself, at that very time, when good men were unrighteously abused, published three books against our religion, and the Christian name: professing likewise to act therein the part of a Philosopher, in delivering men from their errors, and bringing them back to the way of truth, that is, to the worship of the gods, by whose power and providence, as he said, the world is governed: and not to suffer ignorant and unskilfull men, to be misled by the frauds of others, and that their simplicity might no longer be the prey and food of cunning men. Therefore he had undertaken this office, well becoming a Philosopher, not only to hold out the light of wisdom to those who do not discern it, but

in ceteris rebus humanis, tum praecipue in defendendis deorum religionibus claruisset: consultum esse tandem rebus humanis, ut cohibita impia et anili superstitione universi homines legitimis sacris vacarent, ac propitios sibi deos experirentur. Ubi autem religionis ejus, contra quam perorabat, infamare voluit rationem, ineptus, varius, ridiculus apparuit, quia gravis ille consultor utilitatis alienae, non modo quid oppugnaret, sed etiam quid loqueretur, nesciebat. Nam si qui nostrorum assuerunt, quamvis temporum gratia coniverent, animo tamen derisere: utpote cum viderent hominem profitentem se illuminaturum alios, cum ipse caecus esset,

redacturum alios ab errore, cum ipse ignoraret, ubi pedes suos poneret: eruditurum alios ad veritatem, cujus ille ne scintillam quidem unam vidisset aliquando: quippe cum sapientiae professor profligare sapientiam niteretur. Omnes tamen id arguebant, quod illo potissimum tempore id opus esset aggressus, quo furebat odiosa crudelitas. O philosophum adulatorem ac temporis servientem! Verum hic sua inanitate contemptus est: qui et gratiam, quam sperabat, non est adeptus, et gloria, quam captavit, in culpam, reprehensionemque conversa est. *Lactant. Inst. l. 5. cap. ii.*

“ but also to persuade them, laying aside all perverse obstinacie, to
 “ avoid heavie sufferings, and not give up themselves to torments
 “ without reason. And that it might appear with what views this
 “ work of his was composed, he enlarged in the praises of the Em-
 “ perours, whose wisdom and piety, he said, were conspicuous, not
 “ only in the affairs of the State, but also, and chiefly, in uphold-
 “ ing the religion of the gods: and had taken due care of the wel-
 “ fare of mankind, in restraining an impious and foolish superstiti-
 “ on, that all men performing the legal rites, might enjoy the fa-
 “ vour and protection of the gods. But when he came to confute
 “ the religion, against which he was arguing, he appeared very con-
 “ temptible, not knowing what he opposed, nor what to say: so
 “ that our people in general, though upon account of the times
 “ they might think it best to say little, could not but despise him, and
 “ look upon him, as a man, who attempted to enlighten others, when
 “ he was blind himself, and to bring others back from errour, when
 “ he was himself ignorant, and knew not where to set his feet, and
 “ to teach others the truth, of which he never had a glimpse him-
 “ self. All thought it strange, that at this very time he should en-
 “ gage in such a work, when the most cruel measures were taken.
 “ Behold then a flattering Philosopher, and a server of the times.
 “ However this man was despised for his emptinesse. Nor did he
 “ obtain the favour he hoped for. And instead of the glorie, which
 “ he aimed at, he met with reproach and censure.”

Upon which I shall make only two or three remarks, and then proceed.

1. This writer is anonymous. Nor do we know, that he is men-
 tioned by any one, beside Lactantius in this place. Some have ima-
 gined, that he is the same as *Porphyrie*: but altogether without
 reason. Porphyrie is older, and his character very different from
 that of the person here described. Porphyrie was a man of virtue:
 and his work against the Christians, so far from being contemptible,
 was,

A. D. 303. was, perhaps, the most formidable of all the arguments writ against them, by any of their ancient Heathen adversaries.

And we may therefore hence infer, that many books were writ against the Christians in the first ages, of which we now know nothing. They have been buried in oblivion. But they may have given the Christians a good deal of trouble at the time, when they were published.

2. Though we have not the work of this anonymous writer, we perceive what was in it. *Lactantius*, who was perfectly honest, as well as zealous for his religion, may be relied upon for having given a true and just account of the character of the author, and the design and contents of his work. And therefore I have judged it highly proper to transcribe him at length.

This author, by profession a Philosopher, and a teacher of philosophie, represented Christianity to be *superstition, foolish, and also impious, neglecting the deities*, by whom, as he said, the world was governed: *contrarie* likewise to the *established laws*, and *prejudicial to the interests of mankind*, as exposing men to the displeasure of the gods. To cure men therefore of this superstition, (no matter how) was to recommend them to the favour and blessing of those deities. He was also a flatterer, and he expatiated in the praises of the Emperour. But his arguments were very inconsiderable.

3. I must be allowed to transcribe here a paragraph of Mr. *Bayle*, who was a witness of the persecution of the Protestants in his own countrey in the time of Lewis the XIV.

“ The (*b*) preface of this Philosopher, says he, may enable us to
 “ discern the great conformity of Pagan and Christian persecutions.
 “ A self-interested and flattering author never fails to take up the
 “ pen against the persecuted party. It appears a fine opportunity
 “ to praise his prince. He lays hold of it, and enlarges upon the
 “ importance of the service done for God, and the charity of ad-
 “ ding

(*b*) See his *Dictionarie in Hierocles*: note (C).

“ding instruction to the authority of the laws: that enlightening
 “the erroneous, they may be delivered from the pain, to which
 “their obstinacie might expose them. The voluptuous Philosopher
 “of Nicomedia forgot none of these common-places. It may be
 “said, that he was the original to many French authors, who wrote
 “during the sufferings of the Protestants. It is easier to depart from
 “the method of Diocletian’s persecution, than from that of his Pa-
 “negyristis.”

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II. Of the other writer Lactantius speaks after this manner. “The
 “(c) other, says he, treated the same subject more accurately. He
 “was

*Hierocles,
 An Ac-
 count of
 his Work
 from Lac-
 tantius.*

(c) Alius eandem materiam mordacius scripsit. Qui erat tum e numero iudicum, et qui auctor in primis faciendae persecutionis fuit: quo scelere non contentus etiam scriptis eos, quos afflixerat insecutus est. Composuit enim libellos duos, non contra Christianos, ne inimice insectari videretur, sed ad Christianos, ut humane, ac benigne consulere putaretur. In quibus ita falsitatem scripturae sacrae arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria. Nam quaedam capita, quae repugnare sibi videbantur exposuit: adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videatur . . . nisi forte casu in manus ejus divinae literae inciderunt. . . . Tantum enim abest a divinis literis repugnantia, quantum ille absuit a veritate. Praecipue tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit, ceterosque discipulos, tanquam fallaciae feminatores: quos eosdem tamen rudes, et indoctos fuisse, testatus est. Nam

quosdam eorum piscatorio artificio fecisse quaestum: quasi aegre ferret, quod illam rem non Aristophanes aliquis, aut Aristarchus commentatus sit. *Ib. cap. 2.*

Absuit ergo ab his fingendi voluntas, et astutia, quoniam rudes fuerunt. Aut quis possit indoctus, apta inter se, et cohaerentia fingere. Cum philosophi doctissimi, Plato, et Aristoteles, et Epicurus, et Zenon, ipsi sibi repugnantia et contraria dixerint. Haec est enim mendaciorum natura, ut cohaerere non possint. Illorum autem traditio, quia vera est, quadrat undique, ac sibi tota consentit: et ideo persuadet, quia constanti ratione suffulta est. Non igitur quaestus et commodi gratia religionem istam commentati sunt: quippe qui et praeceptis, et re ipsa, eam vitam secuti sunt, quae et voluptatibus caret, et omnia quae habentur in bonis spernit: et qui non tantum pro fide mortem subierint, sed etiam morituros esse se et scierint, et praedixerint: et postea universos, qui eorum disciplinam secuti

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“ was then one of the Judges, and a principal adviser of the perse-
 “ cution. And not contented with that piece of wickedness, he
 “ also pursued those with his writings, whom he had brought into
 “ trouble. For he composed two books, not entitled against the
 “ Christians, least he should seem to bear hard upon them, but *to*
 “ *the Christians*, that he might be thought to advise them in a kind
 “ and friendly manner. In which books he endeavored to shew,
 “ that the sacred scriptures overthrow themselves, by the contradic-
 “ tions, with which they abound. He particularly insisted upon
 “ several texts, as inconsistent with each other: and indeed, on so
 “ many, and so distinctly, that one might suspect, he had some time
 “ professed the religion, which he now exposed. However, the
 “ sacred scriptures may have by some accident or other fallen into
 “ his hands. But the scriptures are as far from inconsistencies, as
 “ he was from the truth. . . But he chiefly reviled Paul and Peter,
 “ and the other disciples, as propagators of falsehood: who, never-
 “ theless, as he says, were ignorant and illiterate, and some of them
 “ got their livelihood by fishing: as if he was displeased, that some
 “ Aristophanes or Aristarchus had not handled the subject.”

“ But it hence follows, that they were not cunning and design-
 “ ing men, being entirely unacquainted with the arts of deceit. And
 “ how

cuti essent, acerba, et nefanda passuros. Ipsum autem Christum affirmavit, a Judaeis fugatum, collecta nongentorum hominum manu, latrocinia fecisse. Quis tantae auctoritati audeat repugnare? Credamus hoc plane. Nam fortasse hoc illi in somnis Apollo aliquis nuntiavit. Tot semper latrones perierunt, et quotidie pereunt: utique multos et ipse damnasti. Quis eorum post crucem suam, non dicam deus, sed homo appellatus est? Verum tu forsitan ex eo credidisti, quia vos homicidam Martem consecrasti, ut De-

um. Quod tamen non fecissetis, si illum Arcopagitae in crucem sustulissent. Item, cum facta ejus mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit ostendere Apollonium, vel paria, vel etiam majora fecisse. Mirum, quod Apuleium praetermisit, cujus solent et multa et mira memorari . . . Si magus Christus, quia mirabilia fecit, peritior utique Apollonius, qui, ut describis, cum Domitianus eum punire vellet, repente in judicio non comparuit, quam ille, qui et comprehensus est, et cruci affixus. *Ib. cap. 3.*

“ how should unlearned men, of their own heads, contrive a plau-
 “ sible storie, in every part, and throughout consistent, when the
 “ most learned Philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno,
 “ have delivered inconsistencies, and contradictions. For this is the
 “ nature of falshood, that it cannot hold together. But the doc-
 “ trine of Christ’s disciples being true, it is all of a piece, and con-
 “ sistent throughout: and therefore it satisfies, and gains follow-
 “ ers, because it is built upon solid reason. Nor did they invent
 “ this religion for the sake of any worldly profit whatever. For the
 “ precepts of it give no encouragement to voluptuousnesse, and in
 “ their whole conduct they shewed a contempt of those things which
 “ are most valued. Nor did they only lay down their lives for the
 “ truth, but knew before-hand, that they should do so, and also
 “ foretold it. And plainly declared to all others, who embraced the
 “ same doctrine, that they must expect the like sufferings. But he
 “ says, that Christ was banished by the Jews, and after that got to-
 “ gether nine hundred men, and committed robberie. Who can
 “ withstand such an authority? By all means let us believe him.
 “ For, perhaps, some Apollo told it him in his sleep. Many rob-
 “ bers have been executed in all times, and are executed daily. You
 “ have condemned a great many. But who of them after cruci-
 “ fixion has been esteemed as a god, or even as a man? But pos-
 “ sibly you have the more easily believed this, because your people
 “ have deified the murderer Mars. Which however you would
 “ not have done, if he had been crucified by order of the court of
 “ Areopagus. Moreover, as Lactantius goes on to say, this writer
 “ endeavors to overthrow Christ’s miracles, though he does not de-
 “ ny the truth of them. He aims to shew, that like things, or e-
 “ ven greater, were done by *Apollonius*. It is somewhat strange,
 “ that he omitted *Apuleius*, of whom many wonderfull things are
 “ commonly said. . . Christ, it seems, must be reckoned a magician,
 “ because he did many wonderfull things. But Apollonius is more
 “ able, because, as you say, when Domitian would have put him

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John xxi.
 18, 19.
 2 *Pet. i.*
 14.
 2 *Tim. iv.*
 7.
Acts xiv.
 22.

A. D. 303. "to death, he escaped: whereas Christ was apprehended, and crucified."

More follows concerning *Apollonius*. But I think, I need not proceed any farther.

Lactantius has not told us the name of this writer. But from the author of the Book of the Deaths of Persecutors, different (*d*) from Lactantius, but contemporarie with him, we learn, that (*e*) he was Hierocles, at first Vicar, afterwards President in Bithynia, of whom he expressly says, that he was a persecutor, and an adviser of the persecution.

Hierocles is also mentioned by (*f*) Epiphanius, as Prefect at Alexandria in the time of Diocletian's persecution.

*Eusebe's
Account of
the Work
of Hiero-
cles.*

Against his work Eusebius of Cesarea wrote an answer, still extant. Of which I shall now give an account. By which it will farther appear, that Lactantius and Eusebius speak of the same author, and the same work.

Eusebius, at the begining, tells his friend, to whom he addresseth himself, "that (*g*) Hierocles had made a comparison of our Saviour and Master with *Apollonius of Tyana*, giving the preference to "the

(*d*) That he is different from Lactantius, I argued largely some while ago. *Credib. P. 2. ch. lxxv. Vol. vii. p. 89. . . .* 98. At the end of that argument are mentioned several learned men, who have been of the same opinion. To them ought to be added Dr. Chapman, in his Charge to the Clergie of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. p. 125.

(*e*) Nam cum incidisses in Flaccinum Praefectum, non pusillum homicidam, deinde in Hieroclem ex Vicario Praefidem, qui auctor et consiliarius ad faciendam persecutionem fuit, postremo in Priscillianum successorem ejus, documentum om-

nibus invictae fortitudinis praebuisti. *De Mortib. Persecut. cap. 16.*

(*f*) Κεκληνανός μὲν ἦν ἑπαρχος τῆς Θεσσαλίας, Αλεξανδρείας δὲ Ἱεροκλῆς. *Epiph. H. 68. num i.*

(*g*) Ἀρ' ἔν, ὡ φιλότις, κάκεινα σε τῷ συγγραφέως ἀξίον ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἃ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Σωτῆρι τε καὶ διδασκάλῳ του Τυανέα συγκρίνων, παρέδοξαλόγει. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ φιλαλήθει . . . ἐδὲν αὖ ἐπὶ σπεδαῖον ἐπὶ τὸ παρόντος ἴσασθαι, μὴ αὐτῷ ἴδια τυγχάνοντα σφόδρα δὲ ἀναιδῶς ἐξ ἐτέρων ἔχ' αὐτοῖς μονοιυχὶ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασιν καὶ συλλαβαῖς ἀπροσεσυλημένα. κ. λ. *Euseb. Contr. Hier. p. 511. ad calc. Dem. Evang.*

“ the later. To this part he intended to confine himself. For,
 “ says he, As for the rest of his work, which he calls *Philaethes*, or
 “ *Lover of truth*, I do not think it needfull to take much notice of
 “ it: it not being his own, but shamefully borrowed from others,
 “ and had been already fully answered by Origen in his answer to
 “ the work of Celsus, called *the true word*.”

“ Referring therefore, says Eusebius, to that work of Origen, such
 “ as are desirous to inform themselves more particularly of our reli-
 “ gion, we shall at this time examine the comparison made of Jesus
 “ Christ and Apollonius by this Philaethes.”

“ He (*b*) admires then, and extols this man, as if by some divine
 “ and hidden wisdom, and not by magical arts, he had performed
 “ great wonders, saying in these very words: *They are continually*
 “ *crying up Jesus, for opening the eyes of the blind, and other like*
 “ *works.* And presently after he adds: *But it ought to be considered*
 “ *upon how much better grounds we receive such things, and how much*
 “ *more reasonably we judge of divers excellent men.* After which pas-
 “ sing over Aristeas of Proconnesus, and Pythagoras, and other an-
 “ cients, he goes on. *In the time of our ancestors, in the reign of*
 “ *Nero, flourished Apollonius of Tyana, who (i) having, when very*
 “ *young,*

(*b*) Θαυμάζει ἔν κ' ἀποδέχεται θείᾳ τινὶ
 κ' ὀρρήτῳ σοφίᾳ, ἐχὶ δὲ γοητείαις σοφισμασι
 τε θαυματεργηκέναι φάσκων αὐτὸν. . . . Ἀκκε
 δ' οὖν ἃ φησιν αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς. Ἀνω δὲ
 κ' κάτω θρύλλῃσι, σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς τυ-
 φλοῖς ἀναβλέψαι τε παρασχόντα, κ' τινὰ τοι-
 αῦτα δράσαντα θαυμάσια. Εἰτά τινὰ μετα-
 ξυ εἰπὼν, ἐπιλέγει. Σκεψώμεθα γε μὴν ὅσω
 βέλτιον κ' συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχώμεθα τὰ
 τοιαῦτα, κ' ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἔχομεν γνῶ-
 μιν ἀνδρῶν. . . . *Ib.* p. 512. *B. C.*

(*i*) Ὅς . . . αἶψ' ὅπερ . . . ἐράσατο τῷ φιλαν-

θρώπῳ Ακκληπιῷ, πολλὰ κ' θαυμαστὰ διεπρά-
 ξατο. ὧν τὰ πλείω παρὲς, ἡμῖν παιήσομαι μνή-
 μιν. Εἰτα καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρώτου ἀρξάμενος
 τὰ παράδοξα. Μεθ' αὖ κ' ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κα-
 τὰ λέξιν. Τινὸς ἔν ἔνεκα τέτων ἐμνήσθην ἵ-
 ἵνα ἐξῇ συγκρίνειν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκριβῆ κ' βε-
 βαίαν ἐφ' ἐκάσῳ κρίσιν, κ' τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν
 κηρότητα. ἔπειρ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τοιαῦτα πεποι-
 ηκότα, ἢ θεὸν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα
 ἠγάμεθα. οἱ δὲ δι' ὀλίγας τερατέας τινὰς τὸν
 Ἰησοῦν θεὸν ἀναγορένυσιν. Τέτῳ ἐπιφέρει μεθ'
 ἑτέρα φάσκων κακῆνο λογίσασθαι ἄξιον, ὅτι
 τὰ

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“ young, sacrificed at Aegis in Cilicia, to that good god Aesculapius,
 “ wrought many and wonderfull works : some of which I shall mention,
 “ omitting others. Then he recites his extraordinarie works from
 “ the begining.” [It were to be wished, that Eusebius had not a-
 bridged, as he does here. It would certainly have been a great cu-
 riosity to have had that passage at length, to see what works Hiero-
 cles ascribed to Apollonius.] “ And afterwards says : in these very
 “ words. *To what purpose have I mentioned these things? That all*
 “ *may perceive our just and reasonable judgement, and the levity of the*
 “ *Christians : forasmuch as we do not esteem him who did these things*
 “ *a god, but a man favored by the gods :* [as if the Heathen people
 were very scrupulous of giving the title of deity to none, but such
 as well deserved it, when they had such a rabble of paltry deities,
 young and old, males and females, good and bad. Moreover, if
 Philostratus may be relied on, Apollonius himself was called a God
 by many, and in his life-time : and he accepted the title, saying,
 that every good man is honoured with it. Πάλιν ἤρετο, τῷ χάριν οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι Θεόν σε ὀνομάζουσιν ; Ὅτι πᾶς, εἶπεν, ἄνθρωπος, ἀγαθὸς νομιζό-
 μενος, Θεὸν ἐπωνυμία τιμᾶται. Apoll. Vit. l. 8. cap. v. p. 325. in.]
 “ Whereas they for the sake of a few tricks call Jesus god. [The
 works of Jesus were not a few, but numerous, great, truly wonder-
 full, and conspicuous beyond all contradiction.] “ It is also reason-
 “ able to think, that the actions of Jesus have been magnified by Peter
 “ and Paul, and others like them, ignorant men, lyars and impostors.
 “ But the things of Apollonius have been writ by Maximus of Aegis,
 “ and Damis, a Philosopher, who conversed with him, and Philostratus
 “ the Athenian, men of great learning : And being lovers of truth
 “ and

τὰ μὲν τῷ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ τινες τέ-
 των παραπλήσιοι κεκόμπασιν, ἄνθρωποι ψευ-
 ται, καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι, καὶ γόητες. Τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλω-
 νίου Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰγέως, καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ
 συνδιατρίψας αὐτῷ, καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
 παιδείσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστοις ἤκοντες, τὸ δὲ

ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες, διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἀνδρὸς
 γενναίου, καὶ θεοῖς φίλων πράξεις μὴ βεβλόμενοι λα-
 θεῖν. Ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς Ἰεροκλῆς τῷ καθ’
 ἡμῶν ἐπιγραφότι φιλαλήθῃ λόγον, ἔφηται.
 Euseb. ib. p. 512. 513.

“ and friends to mankind, they were unwilling, that the actions of so
 “ great a man, dear to the gods, should lye hid. So writes Hierocles
 “ in his work against us, entitled by him *Philaethes*. The case is
 “ this. Damis, who was very conversant with Apollonius, was a
 “ native of Assyria. There he became acquainted with Apolloni-
 “ us, upon his travelling into that countrey, and afterwards wrote
 “ the historie of what happened after his acquaintance with him.
 “ The historie of Maximus is very short and imperfect. But Phi-
 “ lostratus of Athens having met with these and some other histo-
 “ ries of Apollonius, as he says, composed a historie of his life from
 “ his birth to his death.”

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That Eusebius there gives a true account of the Work of Philo-
 stratus, may be perceived by any, who (*k*) will look into the intro-
 duction to it. And yet he omits one particular in that introduction,
 which may be justly reckoned to render the truth of Philostratus's
 historie suspected. For having mentioned *Maximus* and *Damis*, as
 observed by Eusebius, he adds: “ For (*l*) there is no regard to be
 “ had to Moeragenes, who wrote four books concerning Apolloni-
 “ us, but was unacquainted with many things concerning him.”
 Which may induce us to conclude, that in those books were some
 things not very much to the honour of Apollonius. And Philostratus
 does himself afterwards quote (*m*) Moeragenes for an account of
 the writings of Apollonius. Therefore, Philostratus as it seems, put
 together what he thought to be to the advantage of his hero, and
 omitted other things.

“ However, omitting other things, says Eusebius, “ we shall con-
 “ fine ourselves to the historie writ by Philostratus, by which we
 “ shall clearly shew, that Apollonius was far from deserving to be
 “ compared with our Saviour Jesus Christ, as is pretended by the
 “ author

(*k*) *Philost. de Vit. Apol. l. 1. c. 3.*

ἀλλὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγνοήσαντι. *Ibid.*

(*l*) Ὁ γὰρ Μοιραγένης τε προσεκτέον, βιβ-
 λία μὲν ξυγθέντι ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τέτταρα, πολ-

(*m*) *Vid. ib. l. 3. cap. 41.*

A. D. 303. "author of Philalethes." Whereupon he proceeds to examine the Life of Apollonius, writ by Philostratus in eight books, upon each of which he makes remarks.

And though this answer of Eusebius to Hierocles is short, I suppose, it was sufficient, and such as was suited to the circumstances of things at that time. The greatest part of the objections in this work of Hierocles were trifling, and stale, such as had been already answered by Origen, and other learned Apologists, and which all Christians in general were able to confute. All (*n*) that was new in Hierocles was a comparison of our Saviour with Apollonius. This had never been attempted by any before. To that therefore Eusebius confined himself, as before said.

*A Cruelty
of Hierocles,
when Prefect of
Alexandria.*

III. Eusebius has recorded a great cruelty of this *Hierocles*, when Prefect of Alexandria, though he has not expressly named him. It is in his book of the Martyrs of Palestine, where he writes of the sufferings of Christians in that countrey. But having in the fourth chapter of that book related the grievous sufferings of *Apphianus* at Cesarea, a young man, about twenty years of age, of a good familie, and a liberal education, he is led in the following chapter to relate the martyrdom of *Aedefius* at Alexandria, though it did not happen till some while afterwards. "For (*o*) Aedefius was brother of "*Apphianus*, not only in a religious sense, but also by nature, as he "*had the same father. And he had made greater progresse in learning, than his brother. He also led a philosophical life, and wore "*their cloak. He being at *Alexandria*, and beholding the judge "*insulting the Christians, who were brought before him in the most "*opprobrious manner, though they were men of great gravity: "*and*

(*n*) Μόνα δὲ ἐκόντως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐποφύμεθα· ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνον περὶ τὸς πάποτε καθ' ἡμῶν γεγραφότας. ἐξαίρετος νῦν τέτρω γέγονεν ἢ τῷδε πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα πα-
ράθεσις τε, καὶ σύγκρισις. *Euseb. ib. p. 512. A.*
(*o*) *De Mart. Palaeft. cap. v. p. 326. A.*

“ and also delivering women, some of which were devoted to vir-
 “ ginity, into the hands of bawds to be abused by them, he was
 “ exceedingly provoked, and (*p*) going up to the judge, reproved
 “ him in word and deed. For which he was condemned to the se-
 “ vereſt torments, and then thrown into the ſea.”

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It is ſuppoſed, that (*q*) Aedeſius ſtruck the judge. For which he
 has been cenſured by ſome. But I think it muſt be acknowledged,
 that the provocation was very great. And when a magiſtrate de-
 parts from his dignity, and reviles priſoners at his bar, and condemns
 virtuous and modeſt women to the ſtews for prostitution: and thus
 acts contrarie to all the laws of decency and good manners, as well
 as of ſtrict juſtice, he forfeits the reſpect, that would be otherwiſe
 due to him.

For certain theſe are ſtrange things in a man of letters, as *Hiero-
 cles* was: whoſe (*r*) learning is readily acknowledged by Eusebius in
 his confutation of him. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that a
 man of an honorable familie, and a liberal education, as *Aedeſius* was,
 ſhould think he had a right to expoſe a magiſtrate, whoſe proceed-
 ings were ſo extraordinarie.

There was another of this name, a Platonic Philoſopher, who
 taught at Alexandria in the fifth centurie, and wrote of Providence
 and Fate, and likewiſe a Commentarie upon the Golden Verſes of
 Pythagoras, as they are called. Theſe two were confounded by
 many learned men for ſome time. But that (*s*) miſtake has been
 ſince

(*p*) . . . λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν Δικαστὴν
 αἰχρύνει καὶ ἀτιμία περιβαλὼν. . . . *De Mart.*
Pal. cap. v. p. 326. B.

ſtianos ſaevientem, pugno dicitur percuſ-
 ſiſſe. &c. *Valeſ. in loc.*

(*q*) Hujus loci explicatio ex Menaeo
 Graecorum petenda eſt: in quo Aedeſi-
 us Hieroclem Praefectum Aegypti in Chri-

(*r*) . . . παιδείσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἥκον-
 τος. *Contr. Hierocl. p. 314. B.*

(*s*) *Vid. Bayle Diction. in Hierocles, and
 Needham Praef. in Hieroclem. ſub fin.*

A. D. 303. since corrected, and it is now universally allowed, that *Hierocles*, Governour of Bithynia, and Prefect of Alexandria, who wrote against the Christians, and was answered by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and *Hierocles* the Platonic Philosopher of Alexandria, were two different persons.

*Remarks
upon the
Accounts
of his
Work in
Lactanti-
us, and
Eusebius.*

IV. It is now high time, that we should make remarks upon the accounts of the work of Hierocles, which we have seen in Lactantius and Eusebius.

1. Hierocles had read the scriptures of the New Testament, if not of the Old likewise. He observed, particularly, upon a great many passages of the books of the New Testament, endeavoring to shew them inconsistent with each other. This shews, that those books were now well known, and that they were greatly respected by Christians. If therefore the credit of these books was overthrown, the Christian religion must fall with it. In (t) the Imperial Edict for Diocletian's persecution, in 303. it was expressly ordered, not only that the Christian churches should be demolished, but also, that their scriptures should be burned. And this was the first time, that any such order was published by any of the Heathen persecuting Emperours. And it is a proof, as was before observed, that the Heathen people were then sensible of the importance of those scriptures, which the Christians made use of, as the ground of their religion, the rule of their conduct, and the great support of their steadiness and zeal.

2. Hierocles bears testimonie to the existence of the several parts of the New Testament, the Gospels and the Epistles. For, as Lactantius says, *he reviled Peter and Paul, and the other disciples: who, as he says, were ignorant and illiterate, and some of them got their livelihood by fishing.* And, as quoted from Eusebius, he says: *It is also reasonable to think, that the works of Jesus have been magnified by Peter and Paul, and the others, like them, ignorant men, lyars and impostors.*

(t) See *Credib. P. 2. Ch. lxvi. Vol. 7. p. 210. &c.*

postors. By the other disciples, and the others, like Peter and Paul, plainly meaning our Evangelists: as we also learn from Eusebius, who says: "*He (u) gives the preference to Philostratus above our divine Evangelists, not only upon account of his superior learning, but likewise upon account of his superior regard to truth.*"

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306.

Here is a testimonie to the genuinnesse of the Scriptures now received by us. Here are references to fix at least of the eight writers of the books of the New Testament. *Peter* and *Paul* are expressly named. And there are references to the Gospels of the four Evangelists. The books now received by us therefore are the same, which were received by the Christians of that time: and were received by them from their ancestors, and were respected by them, as genuine and authentic.

3. Hierocles did not dispute the genuinnesse or antiquity of the writings of our Apostles and Evangelists. But he endeavored to disparage them, calling them *illiterate*, *liars* and *impostors*. This last charge is manifestly false, their writings having in them all the marks of truth and credibility, that can be wished for, or desired. But some of the writers, as we own, were *unlearned*. But Paul was learned, both in Jewish and Greek learning, and knew the world. Nor was Luke altogether illiterate. Barnabas, who joyned the Apostles, soon after our Saviour's resurrection, was a Levite, and a man of good understanding, and very remarkable for his generosity. Jesus in the time of his abode on this earth, notwithstanding the meannesse of his outward circumstances, had some affectionate and respectfull friends and followers of great distinction, attracted soly by the excellence of his words, the greatnesse of his works, and the amiableness of his conduct. Such were *Jairus*, *Nicodemus*, and *Joseph of Arimathea*: And among the rulers many believed on him: but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should

I i 2

be

(u) . . . τῶν ἐμετέρων θεῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιμε-
προκρίνων τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὥς μὴ μόνον παιδείας λημέλιον. Adv. Hier. l. 3. p. 523. B.

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be put out of the synagogue. John xii. 42. And there were men of lower rank, of very good understanding, who were open and undaunted in their profession, notwithstanding discouragements. See John v. 1... 16. and ix. throughout. And among women, *Joanna, wife of Chuzas, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and divers others*: one of whom was *Mary of Magdala*, usually mentioned in precedence before all the rest. Luke viii. 1... 3. And soon after our Lord's resurrection, there were great accessions made to him and his Apostles, of persons of all characters, too many to be here enumerated. These are things, that must assure us of the truth of the historie of Jesus, as writ by his Apostles and Evangelists: things, which cannot be said of Apollonius, or any other.

4. Hierocles did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles, such as *giving sight to the blind*, and other like works, recorded by the just mentioned writers. But he endeavored to disparage and depreciate them by ascribing them to magical arts. Which is altogether unreasonable, because the works are such as could be done by the power of God only, to which they are always ascribed by the historians. He likewise insinuated, that there might be reason to suspect, that the Evangelists had magnified our Saviour's works beyond the truth and reality. Which insinuation is also unreasonable: Forasmuch as the historians of the Lord Jesus have not particularly recorded all the great works done by him, but have quite omitted very many, and contented themselves with a general mention or reference to others.

There is another great advantage, which the historians of the Lord Jesus have over Philostratus, on whom Hierocles relied for the accounts of Apollonius, that they were all contemporarie with Jesus, and most of them his hearers and eye-witnesses: whereas Philostratus did not write till more than a hundred years after the death of Apollonius. But of that more hereafter.

5. By Lactantius we are told, that this writer, meaning Hierocles, gave out, that Jesus had been expelled from Judea, and after that

that committed robbery, accompanied by a band of nine hundred men. If this be true, (nor is there any reason to doubt it :) it shews, that Heathen people at that time made no scruple of inventing lies to the disparagement of our Saviour. And though those stories were quite groundless and very improbable, they might be regarded by many ignorant and prejudiced people, who had never read the scriptures, and had heard, that about our Saviour's time, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, there were many robbers in Judea.

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6. Beside other just observations in Lactantius, one is this, that the respect shewn to Jesus by vast numbers of men, though he was crucified, is a demonstration, that he was not a man of a bad character. Robbers, and other malefactors, who suffer for their crimes, are never deified, nor much respected after their death.

7. We are assured both by Lactantius, and Eusebius, that there was in Hierocles, a comparison made of our Saviour and Apollonius, with a preference of this later. And by Eusebius, we are expressly assured, that Hierocles was the first who had formed such a comparison. This ought to be particularly attended to by us, and will engage us in some farther observations, which shall be reserved for another section, that I may not too much prolong this.

V. Says *Cudworth* (x) in his Intellectual System: "It is a thing highly probable, if not unquestionable, that *Apollonius Tyanaeus*, shortly after the publication of the gospel to the world, was a person made choice of by the policy, and assisted by the powers of the kingdom of darkness, for the doing some things extraordinary, merely out of design to derogate from the miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to enable Paganism the better to bear up against the attacks of Christianity."

*Apollonius
not so con-
siderable a
man, as
some have
supposed.*

So *Cudworth*. And I suppose, that many learned men of late times may have expressed themselves in a like manner. But I cannot

(x) *B. I. ch. iv. p. 265. 266. ed. 1678.*

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not assent to them. With due submission, I do not think, that Apollonius was a man of so great importance, as is here supposed. For it does not appear, that any adversaries of the Christians, either Celsus, or Porphyrie, or any other, before Hierocles, at the beginning of the fourth centurie, under Diocletian's persecution, ever took any notice of him in any of their arguments. Nor do I know, that he has been once mentioned by any Christian writers of the first two centuries.

When I first met with that observation of Cudworth, I was very much surprized, considering the silence of all early antiquity. If this observation were right, I should have expected to find frequent mention of Apollonius in the historie of St. John, and the other Apostles of Christ. But there is none. We had in that space of time divers learned men, some of them, as eminent for extensive literature, as any men that ever lived: as *Justin, Tatian, Bardesanes the Syrian, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Julius Africanus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix*: not to insist upon *Clement of Rome, Ignatius, or Polycarp*, or the histories of them. Of all these we have some remains. They lived in the first two centuries, or at the beginning of the third. But of *Apollonius* they have not taken any the least notice.

The first Christian writer, who has mentioned him, so far as I can recollect, is *Origen* in his books against Celsus, writ not long before the middle of the third centurie. Where he says: "He (y) who
" would know, whether Magick has any power over Philosophers,
" may read the Memoirs of Moeragenes, concerning Apollonius of
" Tyana, both (z) a Magician, and a Philosopher. In which Moeragenes, who was not a Christian, but a Philosopher, says, that
" some, and no inconsiderable Philosophers, were taken by the magical art of Apollonius, and came to him, as to a magician. [γόηται]
" Among them, I suppose, he means *Euphrates*, and a certain Epicurean. But we can affirm upon the ground of our own experience,

(y) *Contr. Cels. l. 6. §. 41. p. 302.*

(z) . . . μάγος καὶ φιλόσοφος. *Ibid.*

“ perience, that they who worship the God over all through Jesus
 “ Christ, and live according to the gospel, and pray as they ought
 “ to do day and night, have no reason to fear any thing from ma-
 “ gick, or demons.” So Origen is led to speak in answer to some
 things in Celsus. But it does not appear, that Celsus had at all men-
 tioned either Apollonius, or his historian.

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Apollonius is mentioned by (a) Lucian. But what he says of him,
 is far from being to his advantage. He is also mentioned by (b) A-
 puleius, who was contemporarie with Lucian. Nor (c) is there any
 older author now exstant, where he is mentioned. Which must
 be reckoned an argument of his great obscurity, till he was set up
 by Philostratus.

After that time Apollonius is taken notice of by many: as (d)
 Arnobius, and Lactantius, and Eusebius, who were led to observe
 upon Hierocles, whose whole book against the Christians was found-
 ed upon the memoirs of Philostratus. He is afterwards mentioned
 by Augustin, and other Christian writers. And he is mentioned se-
 veral times by the writers (e) of the Augustan Historie, who flou-
 rished in the time of Diocletian, or soon afterwards, and by (f)
 Dion Cassius, and (g) by Eunapius, who commends the historie of
 Philostratus, but says, that instead of entitling it *the Life of Apol-
 lonius*, he might have called it *the Peregrination of a God among
 men*.

I must

(a) Lucian. *Pseudem.* p. 750. T. i. Gr.
Vid. et ejusd. Demonax. p. 866.

(b) *Vid. Apul. Apol.* p. 544. in *Usum
 Delph. Et Conf. Olearii Praef. in Phi-
 lostr.* p. 33.

(c) Ante Lucianum vix reperies, qui
 ejus meminerit. Eruditiss. certe Philostrati
 enarrator Lucianum cum Apuleio coae-
 taneo primos facit. Praef. p. 33. *Solon.
 annot. ad Lucian. Pseud.* p. 213. T. 2.
Amst. 1743.

(d) *Amob. l. i. p. 31.*

(e) *Vid. Lamprid. Alex. Sever. cap. 29.
 p. 930. Vopisc. de Aurelian. cap. 24. p.
 475.*

(f) *Dion. in Domitian. l. 6. p. 1116.
 Reimar. Et in Caracalla. lib. 77. p.
 1304.*

(g) Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπι-
 τέλεσε φιλόσοφος, βίου ἐπιγράψας Ἀπολλο-
 νίῳ τὰ βιβλία, δέον ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπους
 Θεῷ καλεῖν. *Eunap. Pr. p. 11.*

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I must stay here to add, That we have a kind of positive evidence, that Celsus took no notice of Apollonius, though he did speak of several others of a like character. "There (b) were miracles wrought every where, or however in many places, says Origen. Celsus himself presently afterwards instanceth in Aesculapius, who performed cures, and delivered out oracles in all cities consecrated to him, Epidaurus, Cöus, Pergamus; and Aristaeus of Proconnesus, and Clazomenius, and Cleomedes. But among the Jews, who esteemed themselves consecrated to the God of the universe, there was, it seems, no miracle, no prodigie, to establish their faith in the creator of all things." For certain Apollonius was not mentioned by Celsus here. Probably therefore he was not brought in by him any where.

The silence of Celsus about Apollonius must be reckoned good proof, that in the middle of the second centurie. Apollonius was not a man of much consideration among the Heathen people.

An Account of the Life of Apollonius by Philostratus, with Remarks, shewing, that it was not writ, with a Design to oppose the Miracles of our Saviour.

VI. Since therefore Apollonius is very much, if not entirely indebted to the memoirs of Philostratus, for his great reputation in the world; it is very fit, that we should consider that work distinctly.

I propose, then, to consider these several things.

1. The time and occasion of writing it. 2. it's veracity, or credibility. 3. it's importance.

1. The time and occasion of it.

It (i) was composed about the year of Christ 210. at the desire of the Empreffe Julia, wife of Septimius Severus. Says Philostratus himself, in the third chapter of his first book. "There was one Dacles, a man not unskilfull in philosophie, a native of the ancient Ninive. He was much conversant with Apollonius, and attended

(b) *Contr. Cels. l. 3. num. 3. p. 113. Et Conf. num. 26. p. 125.*

(i) See Tillemont. *L'Emp. Sever. art.*

37. and *Apollone de Tyanes, &c. Hist. des Emp. Tom. 2. P. i. p. 200. &c. Brux.*

“ ed him in his travels, and wrote down his sentiments, and sayings,
 “ and divinations. A friend of Damis brought his memoirs, hi-
 “ therto unknown, to the Empreſſe Julia. She was herſelf a friend
 “ to literature. And as I was in her familie, ſhe commanded me
 “ to digeſt theſe materials into proper order. I alſo met with the
 “ book of Maximus of Aegis, which contained an account of what
 “ happened to Apollonius at Aegis. There is alſo exſtant the laſt
 “ will and teſtament of Apollonius, whence it may be learned, that
 “ he philoſophized under a divine impulſe. Moeragenes compoſed
 “ four books concerning Apollonius. But no regard is to be had
 “ to him, forasmuch as he was ignorant of many things relating to
 “ him. Thus I have ſhewn, whence theſe collections were made,
 “ and how I have digeſted them. And I cannot but wiſh, that this
 “ work of mine may be honorable to him, of whom I write, and
 “ uſeful to ſuch as are lovers of good letters. For, certainly, they
 “ may hence learn things, which they knew not before.”

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That may ſuffice for ſhewing the time and occaſion of this work of Philoſtratus, the Life of Apollonius.

2. Hence we may be able to judge of *the truth* or *credibility* of what is here related. It (*k*) muſt be all uncertain, and deſerving of

(*k*) Quicquid igitur de iis fertur, id deploratae hujus hominis fidei innititur: Haec vero sunt, quae de illis habet. Damidis quemdam familiarem in lucem eos primum protraxisse, ac Juliae Augustae obtulisse. Hanc cum artis dicendi studiosa esset, sibi id laboris imperasse, ut quae agresti et incondita oratione Damis prodiderat, expoliret, et meliori ordine digereret. Fecisse id opere, quod De Vita Apollonii hodie adhuc tenemus. Ex his statim intelligitur, cum ante Severi tempora volumen hoc nulli visum fuerit, nul-

lam etiam Apollonio parere existimationem potuisse. Deinceps vero actum esse de omni ejus auctoritate ex hac ipsa narratione constat. Quis Damidem illud consignasse, auctor est? Obscurus quidam homo, cujus nomen nescit, tacet Philoſtratus, qui Damidi tamen sese familiarem gloriabatur. Quis praeter hunc? Nullus plane... Sed quis rustico labori exornando praeficitur? Philoſtratus, rhetor, ex eorum nimirum ordine, quibus omnia fucata et simulata erant. Egregie sane! *Mosheim. Diff. de existimatione Apol-*

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of very little credit. Philostratus's principal author, Damis, is an obscure person. His memoirs were unknown, till brought to the Empreſſe Julia. His friend, who is ſaid to have brought them to her, is not named. Though Moeragenes had publiſhed four books concerning Apollonius, Philostratus determined to pay no regard to them: very probably, becauſe they were not favorable to his hero. And he concludes with ſaying, "*That the curious may hence learn what they knew nothing of before.*" But how can things be received, which were not known, till more than a hundred years after the death of the perſon ſpoken of.

That Philostratus's hiſtorie is not writ with impartiality, and that he forbore to insert things not favorable to Apollonius, is manifeſt upon divers occaſions. According to Philostratus, Veſpaſian met with Apollonius, Euphrates, and other Philoſophers, at Alexandria, in his way to Rome, after he had been proclaimed Emperour. At (l) his deſire Apollonius gave him good advice for the right management of himſelf in his high ſtation. Veſpaſian then asked the advice of Euphrates alſo. "Who declared his aſſent to what had been already ſaid by Apollonius. Nevertheless (m) ſays he, o Emperour, I may add this: Approve and cheriſh the philoſophie, which is agreeable to nature: and avoid that, which boaiſts of commerce
" with

pollonii Tyanaei. §. ix. apud ejusdem Commentationes et Orationes varii argumenti. Hamburg. 1751. 8vo.

Alius certe dixerit, quis qualisve, ater, an albus fuerit. [Apollonius.] Mihi omnibus ſolicite ponderatis, collatisque pro quavis ſententia argumentis, id unum perſpicuum eſſe fateor, talem, quam Philostratus fingit, non fuiſſe. *Id. ib. §. i.*

Si Moeraginis de vita ejus narratio exſtaret, quanti apud multos vivus fuiſſet habitus, curatius enarrari poſſet. Periit

ea, quam Origenes ſuo adhuc tempore legit, eorum ſine dubio, qui famae hominis conſultum cupiebant, ſtudio. . . . Unicus igitur nobis hodie Philostratus reſtat, ex quo quae ad vitam ejus pertinent, haurienda ſunt. *Id. ib. §. ii.*

(l) *De Vit. Apol. l. v. cap. 36.*

(m) . . . φιλοσοφίαν δὲ, ὡς βασιλεὺς, (ταῦτα γὰρ λοιπὸν προσειρήσεται) τὴν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίνει καὶ ἀσπάζε· τὴν δὲ θεοκλυτεῖν φάσκεισαν παραεῖν. κ. λ. *Cap. 37.*

“ with the deity.” Which, as Philostratus says, was designed against Apollonius, and was the result of envie.

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When Vespasian was gone from Egypt, Apollonius and Euphrates quarreled more openly. “ But says (*n*) Philostratus, I must dismiss that affair. It is not my design to blame Euphrates, but to write the life of Apollonius, for the sake of those who are as yet unacquainted with it.”

Euphrates is several times mentioned by Philostratus. But it has been observed by learned men, that Euphrates has a good character from (*o*) the younger Plinie, and (*p*) from Epictetus, who have never mentioned Apollonius, and from (*q*) Eunapius. Eusebius (*r*) has made good remarks upon the differences between Apollonius and Euphrates: and fails not to observe, that Euphrates was in his time a very celebrated Philosopher, and was still in great esteem.

3. From what has been already said, we may be able to judge of the *importance* of this work. A historie that is false, or uncertain, and not to be depended upon, cannot be of much value. Nevertheless we must bestow some observations upon this point, out of deference to the opinions of some learned moderns.

Dr. Cudworth, as before cited, goes on, at p. 268. “ For among the many writers of this Philosopher’s life, some, and particularly Philostratus, seem to have had no other aim in their undertaking, than only to dress up Apollonius in such a garb and manner, as might make him best seem to be a fit corival with our Saviour Jesus Christ, both in respect of sanctity and miracles. . . And it is well known, that Hierocles, to whom Eusebius gives the character of a very learned man, wrote a book against the Christians, the chief design of which was to compare this Apollonius Tynaenus with, and to prefer him before our Saviour. And that this

K k 2

“ was

(*n*) *Cap.* 39.

(*o*) *Plin. Ep. l. i. 10.*

(*p*) *Arian. Epiet. l. 4. c. 8.*

(*q*) *De Vit. Sophist. in Pr.*

(*r*) *Contr. Hierocl. p. 532. 533.*

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“ was the use, commonly made by the Pagans of this historie of
 “ Philostratus, appears fundry ways. Marcellinus, in an epistle of
 “ his to St. Augustin, declares this, as the grand objection of the
 “ Pagans against Christianity, and therefore he desires St. Augustin
 “ to answer the same: Nihil (s) aliud Dominum, quam alii homi-
 “ nes facere potuerunt, fecisse mentiuntur Apollonium siquidem su-
 “ um nobis, et Apuleium, aliosque magicæ artis homines in me-
 “ dium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt existisse miracula.”
 So Cudworth, and in like manner many other learned men.

But whereas Cudworth supposeth, that *among the many writers of this Philosopher's life, some, beside Philostratus, wrote with that view*; it is said, without ground. There were not many writers of this man's life. Nor are any of them come down to us. Hierocles, in his comparison of our Saviour with Apollonius, made use of Philostratus only.

The question is, whether Philostratus designed to set up Apollonius, as a *corrival with our Saviour*. It has been the opinion of Cudworth, and of (t) divers other learned men of late times. Nevertheless I do not think that to be clear. My late learned friend, Mr. Michael de la Roche, used to say, *that Philostratus said nothing more in the Life of Apollonius, than he would have said, if there had been no Christians in the world*. Whether he any where published this his opinion in any of his Literary Memoirs, I cannot say * *.

But

(s) *Ap. Augustin. ep. 136. [al. 4.] Tom. 2. edit. Bened.*

(t) Multis de putidis fabellis non agemus. Sed satis liquet, hic esse historiae Christi pravam imitationem. *Cleric. H. E. An. 92. num. iv.*

Videtur nobis quoque, ut viris doctissimis visum est, fabula hæc esse a Philostrato centum post annis, ea de causa conscripta, ut haberent Ethnici, quem

Jesu Christo, cujus doctrinam et discipulos invalescere in dies, non sine invidia videbant, opponerent. *Cleric. ib. An. 85. n. i. et ii.*

* * Since writing what is above, (and indeed a good while since,) I have accidentally observed this paragraph in Mr. La Roche's *New Memoirs of Literature. Vol. i. art. xiii. p. 99.* “ It is commonly “ believed, that *Philostratus* wrote the “ *Life*

But I had this thought from him in our correspondence together. At first it appeared strange to me. But upon farther consideration, and upon reading Philostratus again, I have embraced the same opinion: and am now confirmed in it. Hierocles made use of the work of Philostratus in forming his comparison of Christ and Apollonius. And many Heathen people afterwards were willing enough to set up Apollonius against our Saviour. But it does not clearly appear, that Philostratus had any such thing in view.

Huet specifies several ends and views, which Philostratus might have in composing that work. He (*u*) allows, “that it has no foundation in truth. His chief design in writing was to please Julia and Caracalla. Julia was a Lady of a philosophical temper of mind. She was desirous to know the historie of the ancient Philosophers,

“Life of *Apollonius*, to draw up a parallel between his miracles and those of Jesus Christ. I read that Author long ago, that I might be able to judge, whether that opinion was well grounded. But after reading of Philostratus, I was fully persuaded, that he never designed to draw up such a parallel. It is no difficult thing to prove it, and to shew what gave occasion to the mistake just now mentioned.” That is the whole of what he says.

(*u*) Nullis ergo ac solidis incumbit fundamentis tota haec Philostrati moles, sed caduca, et in ruinam prona est: cujus ad speciem exstruendae causae hanc habuit precipuam, ut Juliae et Caracallae gratificaretur. . . . Juliam vero philosophiae deditam fuisse memorant idem Dio et Philostratus, Sophistarumque, Rhetorum ac Geometrarum choro plerumque stipata erat. . . . Quamobrem et de priscorum philosophorum moribus ac studiis edoceri se vo-

lebat, atque hanc Apollonii potissimum historiam a Philostrato tradi literis optavit, eique Damidis commentarios suppeditavit. Altera Philostrato accessit causa concinnandi hujus operis, vana nimirum collectae per otium eruditionis expromendae ac ostentandae cupiditas. Quorsum enim ambitiosi illi excursus, et importunae dissertationes, de rebus ad Apollonium haudquaquam pertinentibus: de Pantheris Armeniis, de elephantis, de martichora, de gryphibus, pygmaeis, &c. &c. Id praeterea spectasse se in primis videtur Philostratus, ut invalescentem jam Christi fidem ac doctrinam deprimeret, opposito hoc omnis doctrinae, sanctitatis, ac mirificae virtutis foeneo simulachro. Itaque ad Christi exemplar hanc expressit effigiem, et pleraque ex Christi Jesu historia Apollonio accommodavit, ne quid Ethnici Christianis invidere possent. *Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. 9. cap. 147. §. iii. p. 661.*

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“ philosophers, and particularly of Apollonius. And for that end she
“ furnished Philostratus with the memoirs of Damis. In pursuit
“ of this design, he also gratified his own vanity, and laid hold of
“ every opportunity for shewing his learning, making digressions
“ concerning a great variety of subjects, not at all appertaining to
“ the historie of Apollonius. He also aimed, Huet says, and thinks
“ that to have been his principal design, to obstruct the progresse of
“ the Christian Religion, by drawing the character of a man of great
“ knowledge, sanctity, and miraculous power. Therefore he form-
“ ed Apollonius after the example of Christ, and accommodated
“ many things in the historie of our Lord to Apollonius.”

The several views and ends first mentioned are very conspicuous in this work. But I cannot clearly discern the last. And I shall assign my reasons. Philostratus was a Pythagorean, or however assumed that character upon this occasion. And he designed to extoll Apollonius, and recommend him to esteem, as a wonderfull man, and a follower of Pythagoras. Philostratus, as other writers generally do, declares his design at the begining of his work, and to this purpose. “ They (x) who admire Pythagoras of Samos, say of him, “ that he wore no cloathing taken from animals, and that he forbore the use of animals in food, and sacrifice, offering up only “ cakes with honey, and frankincense, and hymns. And they say, “ that he conversed with the gods, and from themselves knew what “ things were most acceptable to them, and what were displeasing. “ And many other things are said of him by those, who philosophize “ after the institution of Pythagoras: which I must forbear to relate, as I must hasten to the historie, which I have undertaken.”

“ For (y) Apollonius, who lived not very long ago, nor yet very “ lately, attempted the like things in a more perfect manner than “ Pythagoras.”

Huet

(x) *De Vit. Apoll. l. i. cap. i.*

πολλάνιον, καὶ θεώτερον ἢ ὁ Πυθαγόρας τῇ σοφίᾳ

(y) Ἀδελφὰ γὰρ τέτοις ἐπιτηδεύσαντα Α.

προσελθόντα. κ. λ. Cap. 2.

Huet (z) has in one place expressed himself after the same manner that I have done upon a view of this work of Philostratus. His words, which I have placed below, are very remarkable.

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And Eunapius, who was as likely to understand the design of Philostratus, as any modern, speaks also to the same purpose. In the preface to his work, speaking of such as had writ the Lives of Sophists and Philosophers: “And (a) Apollonius of Tyana, says he, “was a Philosopher, indeed, but more than a Philosopher, being “somewhat between the Gods and man. For following the philosophy of Pythagoras, he raised the reputation of it, as truly divine and excellent. Philostratus of Lemnus has writ his historie “in several books, calling his work the Life of Apollonius: which “might have been more properly entitled, The Peregrination of God “among men.”

Apollonius is drawn by Philostratus in resemblance of Pythagoras, not of Jesus Christ. “When (b) he was sixteen years of age, “he determined to follow the institution of Pythagoras, higher “powers instigating him thereto. From that time he forbore the “food of animals, and wore linen garments, not admitting such as “were made of wool, taken from animals, and wore long hair.” How strictly he professed to observe the Pythagorean discipline, every

(z) Mihi vero rem introspicenti Pythagoricae philosophiae penitus videtur additus fuisse Philostratus. Ex qua disciplina quicumque prodierunt, quod jam supra monui, in θαυματαποιίας et παραδοξολογίας fuerunt pronissimi, nihil non et fingere prompti et credere. Testis aureum Pythagorae femur, testis et Abaridis sagitta, et quaecumque de Epimenide, et Empedocle, aliisque ex Italica schola profectis memorantur. Vel primum legatur Philostrati caput, ex quo, velut ex ungue leonem, hominis propensum in Pythagorae

deliramenta animum et superstitiosam credulitatem deprehendas. *Huet. ib. n. v. p. 664.*

(a) Απολλώνιος τε ὁ ἐκ Τυάνων, ἐκέτι φιλόσοφος, ἀλλ’ ἦν τι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων μέσον. Τὴν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειον φιλοσοφίαν ζηλώσας, πολὺ τὲ θεϊότερον καὶ ἐνεργὸν κατ’ αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τῆτον ὁ Λήμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος βίον ἐπιγράφας Απολλωνίᾳ τὰ βιβλία, δέον ἐπιδῆμίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπους Θεῶν καλεῖν. *Eunap. Pr. p. 11.*

(b) *De Vit. Ap. l. 1. c. 7. 8. p. 9. 10.*

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ry where, and in all things, may be seen l. 1. cap. 32. if Damis may be relied upon. Pythagoras was a great traveller. According to Philostratus, Apollonius visited many parts of the then known world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. He (e) also observed the Pythagorean five years silence, notwithstanding the great difficulty, with which it was attended. A plague broke out at Ephesus. Apollonius was at Smyrna. The Ephesians sent to Apollonius to come to them, expecting help from him. "He (f) said to those about him, Let us not delay the journey. And he was at Ephesus: therein imitating, as I think, says Philostratus, Pythagoras, who was at the same time with the Thuriens, and at Metapontus." Porphyrie's account in his life of Pythagoras, is to this purpose: "That (g) in one and the same day Pythagoras was at Metapontus in Italie, and at Tauromenum in Sicilie, and conversed with his friends in both places. Almost all agree in asserting this." Διαβεβαιῶνται σχεδὸν ἅπαντες. Another like storie is afterwards told of Apollonius (h) by Philostratus.

It is manifest therefore, that Philostratus compared Apollonius and Pythagoras. But I do not see, that he endeavored to make him a rival with Jesus Christ. Philostratus has never once mentioned our Saviour, or the Christians his followers, neither in this long work, nor in the Lives of the Sophists, if it be his, as (i) several learned men of the best judgement suppose. Nor is there any hint, that Apollonius any where in his wide travels, met with any followers of Jesus. There is not so much as an obscure, or general description of any men met with by him, whom any can suspect to be Christians

(e) L. 1. cap. 14. p. 16.

(f) Ὁ δὲ ἐκ αὐτοῦ δεῖν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἁδὸν ἀλλ' εἰπὼν ἴωμεν, ἥν ἐν Εφέσῳ, τῷ Πυθαγόρῃ, οἶμαι, ἐκεῖνο πράττων, τὰ ἐν Θυρίοις ὁμῶς καὶ Μεταποντίοις εἶναι. l. 4. c. x. p. 147.

(g) De Vit. Pyth. num. 27. p. 34. al. p. 192.

(h) De Vit. Ap. l. 8. c. 10. . . 12.

(i) Vid. Fabr. B. Gr. l. 4. cap. 24. T. 4. p. 49. et Gotfr. Olear. Pr. in Philost. p. iii. &c.

ans of any denomination, either catholics, or heretics. Whereas, I think, that, if Philostratus had writ with a mind averse to Jesus Christ, he would have laid hold of some occasion to describe and disparage his followers, as enemies to the gods, and contemners of their mysteries, and solemnities, and different from all other men.

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Nor is there any resemblance between Jesus and Apollonius. Apollonius travelled from Spain to the Indies, *a Gadibus ad Gangem*. Our Lord never travelled abroad. He never was out of the small tract of the land of Israel, excepting when he was carried into Egypt, to avoid the design of Herod upon his life. And he ate, and drank, and dressed, like other men, without any affectation of austerities, like those of the Pythagoreans. Nor was John the Baptist, the fore-runner of Jesus, like them. There was somewhat austere in his character. But he likewise ate animal food, and wore animal clothing. *He had his raiment of camels hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins: and his meat was locusts, and wild boney.* Matt. iii. 4. Nor has Philostratus told any such wonderfull works of Apollonius, as should make out any tolerable resemblance between Jesus and him, in that respect.

Huet is the person, who has taken the most pains to shew this. He (*k*) affirms, that Philostratus transferred many things from the historie of Christ into his life of Apollonius. And he has alleged a great number of particulars. But to me they appear so slight, and so inadequate to the purpose, as to deserve little regard.

For instance, “ of (*l*) our Lord it is said Luke ii. 52. *that he increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men.* “ And

(*k*) Ex historia Christi pleraque in suam Apollonii vitam transtulit. *Huet. ib.*

(*l*) Quod de Christo scriptum legisset Philostratus: *Et Jesus proficiebat sapientia et aetate . . . idcirco scripsit Apollonium*

procedentibus annis egregia ingenii et memoriae dedisse specimina, et formae elegantia omnium in se oculos convertisse. *Ib. num. iv. p. 661.*

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“ And Philostratus says, that Apollonius in early life, as he grew up, gave proof of great ingenuity, and a strong memorie, and was much taken notice of.”

But, *first of all*, what is there extraordinarie in this? Has not the like been said of innumerable men, who have afterwards made a figure in the world? And, *secondly*, here is an imitation of Pythagoras, of whom the same is said by the (m) writers of his life.

Again. “ Jesus (n) ascended to heaven. Nor would Philostratus, says Huet, have his Apollonius inferior to him in that respect.”

Nevertheless here is no resemblance at all. Nor can there be any. According to all the Gospels, Jesus was publicly crucified at Jerusalem. And it was in all the ancient Creeds, received by all Catholic Christians in general, *that Jesus suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried: the third day he rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven.* But Philostratus did not know, when, or where, or how Apollonius died, nor at what age. How is it possible then, that there should be here any resemblance? “ Concerning (o) the manner of his death, if indeed he died, there are various reports. But Damis says nothing. . . Nor does Damis inform us of his age. But some say, he lived to be eighty years old, others more than ninety, some more than a hundred. Some say, he died at Ephesus, others say he died at Lindus, others at Crete, and that having gone into the temple there, he disappeared in a wonderful manner: and that there were heard virgins singing this ode: *Come from the earth: come to heaven: come.*” So writes Philostratus.

Surely,

(m) Πυθαγόρου δ' ἐκ παίδων εἰς πᾶσαν μάθησιν οὗτος εὐφυῆς, κ. λ. *Porph. de Vit. Pyth. num. 1. Vid et Diog. Laert. lib. 8. §. 2. et Jambl. de Vit. Pythag. num. 9. 10.*

(n) Jesus ascendit in coelum: nec hac parte inferiorem esse Apollonium suum vo-

luit Philostratus. *Huet. ib. num. iv. p. 662.*

(o) Περὶ γὰρ τρόπου καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα, εἴγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι. Δάμιδι δὲ ἔδειξθη. . . *Philost. l. 8. cap. 29. 30.*

Surely, this is all uncertainty, and nothing to be depended upon. As (*p*) Huet himself, and (*q*) other learned men of the best note, have acknowledged.

But though this is all uncertainty, and here is no resemblance of Jesus Christ; here is an imitation of the writers of the life of Pythagoras. Who either give no account of his death, or say, there (*r*) are different accounts in several authors of the manner of his death. And some said, he (*s*) died in the eightieth year of his age, others in the ninetieth year. And some said, he (*t*) lived to be almost a hundred, others, that (*u*) he reached to the hundred and fifth year of his age.

Upon the whole, I do not see any reason to believe, that Philostratus had read any of our Gospels, or any other of the books of the New Testament, or that he any where makes any references to the historie of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Before I proceed any farther, I would just observe here, that (*x*) Photius has two articles concerning this work of Philostratus, entitled the Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus. One of which is a general

L 1 2

account

(*p*) . . . nec uspiam postea comparuisse. Quae quam inconcinne et absurde conficta sint, clarissime patefaciunt ea, quae a Philostrato praemissa sunt. Nam quo aetatis anno decesserit Apollonius, ignorari ait. . . . discrepantes quoque esse de loco obitus ipsius sententias, Ephesi aliis, aliis Lindi, aliis in Creta interiisse narrantibus, sepulchrum vero ejus nullibi gentium reperiri. *Huet. ib. p. 662.*

(*q*) Quando, et quo mortis genere obierit, incertissimum est. Philostratus ipse hic nihil explorati scire profitetur. Quare justo confidentiores habendi sunt qui in tempore mortis ejus constituendo elaborarunt. &c. &c. *Moshem ubi supr. §. iv.*

(*r*) *Vid. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. segm. 39. 40. 41.*

(*s*) Ὁ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλέους φησὶν, ὀγδοηκοντέτης ἐτελεύτα . . . ὡς δὲ οἱ πλείους, ἔτη βίης ἐννεήκοντα. *Id segm. 44.*

(*t*) . . . τὸ πάντα βιώσαντα ἔτη ἐγγύς τῶν ἑκατον.. *Jambl. Vit. Pyth. cap. 36. num. 265.*

(*u*) Ὅτι ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράων ἐτῶν λέγεται ἐζηκέναι τὸν Πυθαγόραν. *Anon. de Vit. Pythag. ap. Phot. cod. 259. p. 1313. et apud Kusteri Jamblicum. p. 56.*

(*x*) *Phot. Cod. 44. p. 29. et 241. p. 996.*

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account of the work. The other is a copious abridgement of all the eight books of it. But I do not recollect, that he any where hints it to have been his design to oppose Apollonius to Jesus. However in the first article he gives the true character of it, representing it to be extremely (y) fabulous.

Jerome (*) likewise has given a particular account of Philostratus's eight books of the Life of Apollonius, whom, as he says, the vulgar called a Magician, the Pythagoreans a Philosopher. But he gives not any hint, that Philostratus had designed to set up Apollonius in opposition to our Saviour.

And beside that every thing is uncertain, and nothing related in a credible manner, and upon good authority, as was formerly shewn; the things, ascribed to Apollonius by Philostratus, are not so extraordinary, as some imagine. Some (z) cures of demoniacs, and others, are inserted after a sort in this historie of Apollonius: but not one instance of a miraculous resurrection is asserted by him. Something of this kind he attempts in one (a) place. But after all, it was not certain to those who were present, that the young woman was dead. Nor does Philostratus affirm it. For there were, it seems, some signs of life in

(y) Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀναπλάττει. p. 29. lin. 51. . . . Παραπλήσια τέτοις ἀνοίαις μετὰ, καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα, τερατευσάμενος. Ἐν ὁκτῶ δὲ λόγοις ἡ πᾶσα αὐτῷ τῆς ματαιοπονίας σπέδῃ κατανάλωται. p. 32. in.

(*) Apollonius (five ille magus, ut vulgus loquitur, five philosophus, ut Pythagorici tradunt,) intravit Persas, pertransivit Caucasum, Albanos, Scythas, Massagetas, opulentissima Indiae regna penetravit: et ad extremum latissimo Phryson amne transmissis, pervenit ad Brachmanas, ut Jarcam in throno sedentem aureo, et de Tantali fonte potantem, inter paucos discipulos, de natura, de moribus,

ac syderum cursu audiret docentem. Inde per Elamitas, Babylonios, Chaldaeos, Medos, Assyrios, Parthos, Syros, Phoenices, Arabes, Palaestinos, reversus Alexandriam, perrexit Aethiopiam, ut Gymnosophistas, et famosissimam Solis mensam videret in sabulo. Invenit ille vir ubique quod disceret: et semper proficiens, semper se melior fieret. Scripsit super hoc plenissime octo voluminibus Philostratus. Hieron. ad Paulin. ep. 50. al. 103, T. 4. P. 2. p. 568.

(z) L. 3. cap. 38. 39. l. 4. c. 20.

(a) L. 4. cap. 45.

in the person, who had been supposed by some to be dead. Upon which storie Eusebius has made good remarks. Who says, "as (b) it was not credited by Philostratus himself, we need not much mind it. For in reasoning about it, he supposeth, that there were some remains of life, the maid still breathing, and having a dew of sweat upon her face. And moreover, as this is said to have happened at Rome, if it had been true, it would, undoubtedly, have come to the knowledge of the Emperour, Domitian, and his courtiers, and to the Philosopher Euphrates, then at Rome, and would have been particularly taken notice of, either in favour of Apollonius, or to his disadvantage. Neither of which happened."

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Of this Eusebius takes notice again afterwards, saying. "As (c) for the young woman brought to life from the dead, or rather still breathing, having in her symptoms of life, according to the historian himself, it cannot be reckoned a miracle. Nor, as before said, would so great a work have been buried in silence, if it had been performed at Rome itself, where the Emperour then was."

Some will ask here, how then came it to pass, that many Heathen people were disposed to equal Apollonius to Jesus, or even to prefer him before our Lord! I answer, the reason was, that they

(b) Τό γε μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων πόλεως μετὰ ταῦτα κόριον, ὅτι δὴ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ δευτέραν ζωὴν ἤγαγεν, ἀπιστοτάτην καὶ αὐτῶν δόξαν τῶ φιλοσόφῳ παραιτητέον. Εὐδισαγμῶ μέντοι ἀμφιβάλλει, μὴ ἄρα σπινθήρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνυπάρχων τῇ παιδί, τὸς θεραπεύοντας ἐλελήθει. Λέγεσθαι γάρ φησιν ὡς ψεκάζοι μὲν ὁ ζεὺς, ἢ δὲ ὀτμίζοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ ἀληθῶς αὐτὸ τοῖον δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ρωμῆς ἐπέπρακτο, ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἐλελήθει βασιλέα τε πρῶτον, καὶ τὸς μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας ὑπάρχους,

μάλιστα δὲ τὸν φιλόσοφον Εὐφράτην ἐγχαριάζοντα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιρῶ, καὶ ἐπὶ Ρωμῆς διατρίβοντα. *Contr. Hierocl. p. 530.*

(c) Τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀναβιωσάσης κόρης, εἴτ' ἐμπνεύς ὑπῆρχε, σπινθὴρ ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα, καὶ ἰκμάδα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρεσαν, περιαιρετέον τῆς θαυματοποιίας. Ὅτι γὰρ αὐτῶς καὶ πρόσθεν ἔφην, σιωπῇ τὸ τηλικῆτον παρεδόθη ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ρωμῆς, βασιλέως ἐπὶ παρόντος γεγενημένον. *Ib. p. 534. D.*

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were willing to lay hold of any thing that offered, to save the sinking cause of Polytheism, and the rites belonging to it: as shipwrecked men catch at every twig or straw that comes in their way, to save themselves from drowning.

This observation may be illustrated and confirmed by an argument of Origen with Celsus.

“ Now, says (d) Origen, let us observe some of the strange things
“ alleged by Celsus, which, though in themselves incredible, are
“ believed by him, if we may credit his word. Such are the sto-
“ ries which he alleges, first concerning *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, who
“ after he had wonderfully disappeared from the eyes of men, was af-
“ terwards seen again, and visited many parts of the world, and re-
“ lated the wonderfull things he had seen.” “ Afterwards (e) he insists
“ upon the historie of *Clazomenius*, of whom it is said, that his soul
“ often left the body, and wandered about without the body.” “ He
“ (f) also speaks of *Cleomedes of Astipyléa*, letting us thereby know,
“ that he was not unacquainted with the Grecian histories. Who,
“ as he says, when he was shut up in a chest, held it fast. Never-
“ theless, when it was opened, he was not found in it, having escaped
“ by some divine power.”

If Celsus, an Epicurean, when arguing against the Christians, could lay hold of such things, and speak of them, as true, what might not other prejudiced and ignorant men do? For these things must have been looked upon as fabulous by all wise men, when they had no particular interest to serve. Plutarch having related, how *Proculus* said, and swore, that he had seen *Romulus* after he was dead, goes on: “ This (g) is like some of the Grecian fables of *Aristéas* the
“ Pro-

(d) Ἰδωμέν δὲ καὶ ἃ μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὁ
Κέλσος παρατιθέμενος ἀπὸ ἰσορῶν παράδοξα,
καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἀπίστοις εἰκότα, ὑπ' αὐτῶ
ἐκ ἀπιστήμενα, ὅσον γε ἐπὶ τῇ λέξει αὐτῆ.
Contr. Cels. l. 3 n. 26. p. 125.

(e) *Ib. num. 32. p. 129.*

(f) *Ib. num. 33. p. 130.*

(g) Εἰκε μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ὑφ' ἐλλήνων, πε-
ρὶ τε ἀριστέα τῶ προκοννησίου, καὶ Κλεομήδους τῷ
ἀσωπαλαίως μαθολογούμενοις. *Plutarch. sub
fin. Vit. Rom.*

" Proconnesian, and Cleomedes the Astypaleian. For they say, that
 " Aristéas died in a fuller's work-house: and his friends coming to
 " him, his body vanished: and that some presently after coming from
 " a journey, said, they met him travelling to Croton. And that
 " Cleomedes, being an extraordinarie strong man, and withall crazed,
 " committed many desperate freaks. At last in a certain school-
 " house, striking a pillar that sustained the roof, with his fist, broke
 " it in the middle. So the house fell, and destroyed the children in
 " it, and being pursued, he fled into a great chest, and shutting to
 " the lid, held it so fast, that many men with all their strength
 " could not force it open. Afterwards breaking the chest to pieces,
 " they found no man in it. ... Many such improbabilities do your fa-
 " bulous writers relate." So says Plutarch.

As Celsus, and possibly some others, for want of better, laid hold
 of old Greek stories to oppose to the miracles of Jesus, and the Jew-
 ish Prophets: so many Heathens in later times might endeavor to em-
 prove the historie of Apollonius, in opposition to Jesus and his follow-
 ers: though Philostratus had no such thing in view, no more than the
 first inventers of the old fabulous stories among the Greeks.

One thing here offers itself to our observation, for shewing the
 temper of the Heathen people in this point, which therefore cannot
 be omitted.

For in the time of Augustin, many Heathen people, and those of
 no small consideration, ascribed not only to *Apollonius*, but to *Apu-*
leius of *Madaura*, likewise many miracles. Says (b) Mr. Bayle,
 " nothing can more sensibly demonstrate the absurd credulity of the
 " Pagans, than their saying, that *Apuleius* had done so great a num-
 " ber of miracles, that they equalled, or even surpassed those of Je-
 " sus Christ. Undoubtedly there were many people, who took for
 " true historie all that he relates in his *Golden Ass*: though him-
 " self published that book as a Romance, or a *Milesian fable*, as he
 " calls

(b) *Apulée.*

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“ calls it in the (i) introduction.” And as the same Author goes on. “ It (k) could not be easily believed, that any had formed such a notion, were it not, that it is attested by men of good credit: and that (l) the great prelate Augustin was earnestly entreated to confute it. Nay, says Bayle, these pretended miracles were talked of long before Augustin. For Lactantius (m) wonders, that the Author, of whom he is speaking, did not joyn Apuleius with Apollonius of Tyana. For of him also many wonderfull things are related.” So Mr. Bayle.

And I think it does appear from Lactantius, that in his time many wonderfull things were ascribed to Apuleius, and believed by some: but, as it seems, they were mean and vulgar people only. For which reason Hierocles, of whom he speaks, did not bring them into his argument against the Christians. He was wiser, than to do it. But things were altered before the time of Augustin. The Christian Religion had made farther progresse in the world, and the necessities of the Heathen people were encreased. And they now added the miracles of Apuleius to those of Apollonius, to strengthen their cause, though there was no ground for either. It is manifest from the letter of *Marcellinus* to Augustin, that the works, then ascribed to Apuleius and others, were a real and weighty objection against Christianity, in the minds of some Heathen people of note, and who were well disposed to it. With how little reason, we can now easily discern. But such cases as these are continually happening

(i) At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conferam. *Apul. in prol. Asini Aurei.*

(k) *Apulée note (L).*

(l) . . . precator accesserim, ut ad ea vigilantius respondere digneris, in quibus nihil amplius Dominum quam alii homines facere potuerunt, gessisse mentiuntur. Apollonium siquidem suum nobis, et A-

puleium, aliosque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt exstitisse miracula. *Marcellin. ad Augustin. ep. 136. [al. 4.] Tom. 2. ed. Bened.*

(m) Voluit ostendere Apollonium vel paria vel etiam majora fecisse. Mirum, quod Apuleium prætermisit, cujus solent et multa et mira memorari. *Lactant. Div. Inst. lib. 5. cap. iii.*

ing in this world of ours: owing to want of carefull and impartial examination, the great source of ignorance and error in all sorts of people in all ages.

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We have now finished our digression, and return to Philostratus.

Apollonius pretended to know the thoughts of men, and to foresee futurities. Nevertheless, as Tillemont (*n*) observes, “ he (*o*) composed a very long apologie for himself with a design to deliver it to Domitian: but his pretended prophetic spirit did not advertise him, that Domitian would not give him time to pronounce it, and that the pains he was at in composing it would be useless.”

A man, (*p*) who had lost an eye came to a temple of Aesculapius, where also Apollonius was, hoping to have his eye restored to him. But understanding, that his affliction was the punishment of his intemperance, the Priest and Apollonius agreed to dismiss him, as a profane wretch, unworthie of cure. May it not be reasonably suspected, that the cure was above their ability?

We are indebted to Eusebius for his account of the work of Hierocles, and for his remarks upon Philostratus. Nevertheless it is somewhat unhappy for us, that he did not transcribe at length that passage of Hierocles, where (*q*) he enumerated the wonderfull works ascribed to Apollonius. That passage might have enabled us to judge better for ourselves, and to form a distinct notion of Hierocles's argument, and what were the actions of Apollonius, upon which he chiefly relied. However, as we still have the work of Philostratus, we can be assured, that nothing more than human was credibly related

(*n*) Tillem. *H. E. Tom. 2. P. i. p. 220.*
221. *Brux.*

(*p*) *Vit. Apoll. l. i. cap. x.*

(*o*) *Philost. de Vit. Apoll. l. 8. cap. 7. p.*
327... 353.

(*q*) Ἔπειτα καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀρχαίης
vos τὰ παράδοξα. *Centr. Hier. p. 512. D.*

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lated of him. And I have endeavored to supply the above mentioned defect by divers quotations, and observations. To which, I shall add a few more, though to some they may appear unnecessarie.

“ A (r) plague broke out at Ephesus. And no remedie offering,
 “ says Philostratus, they sent messengers to Apollonius at Smyrna,
 “ who presently came to them. And gathering together all the Ephe-
 “ sians in general, he bid them be easie: for he would stop the plague
 “ that very day. Having thus said, he invited the people of every age
 “ to the theatre, where now stands the statue, in memorie of their de-
 “ liverance. Here was seen an old man in the shape of a beggar, wink-
 “ ing with his eyes, and a scrip by his side, where he put pieces of
 “ bread, with ragged clothes, and sorrowfull face. He bid the Ephe-
 “ ans to surround him, and to throw stones at that enemy of the gods.
 “ The Ephesians wondered at what he said, and thought it inhuman
 “ to kill a stranger, who earnestly importuned their mercie. But he
 “ renewed his orders to the Ephesians, and that they should not let
 “ him escape. Some then began to attack him. Whereupon he,
 “ who before seemed to wink, looked fierce with eyes full of fire.
 “ Whereby the Ephesians perceived it to be a demon. They there-
 “ fore went on casting stones at him, till they had raised a great
 “ heap upon him. Soon after Apollonius directed them to remove
 “ the stones, that they might discern the wild beast, which they
 “ had killed. When that was done, the person, who they thought
 “ they had killed, was vanished. But a dog, in shape like to a
 “ mastiff, in size equal to a very great lion, appeared overwhelmed
 “ with stones, and foaming after the manner of mad dogs. Which
 “ is the form of the averting statue. Moreover a statue of Hercu-
 “ les stands in the place, where this spectre was stoned.”

There is no need of remarks upon so silly a storie of our great Rhetorician. Justly does Eusebius say, that Philostratus's accounts of Apollonius's miracles are inconsistent, *ἀσύνετα*, and therefore altogether incredible.

But

(r) Vit. Ap. l. 4. cap. 2.

But it was necessarie, that some miracle of this kind should be ascribed to Apollonius, in order to make out a resemblance with Pythagoras, of whom, among other things, are mentioned (s) the sudden removals of plagues.

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However, I shall observe a few more passages in this work of Philostratus.

“ When (t) Damis first met Apollonius in Assyria, he said, he believed he could be of use to him, as he knew the road to Babylon, and understood the languages of those barbarians, the Armenians, the Medes, the Persians, the Cadusians. Apollonius answered, “ *my friend, I understand them all, though I have learned none of them.*” At which Damis was much surprized. But Apollonius proceeded: “ *Do not wonder at that, my friend, that I know all the languages of men. For I know their secret thoughts.*” Damis then worshiped him, considering him as a demon, and continued with him, improving in wisdom.”

Upon which Eusebius (u) observes, “ that according to Philostratus, Apollonius (x) was a very forward child, taking learning very well, and having a good memorie: and that at the fourteenth year of his age he was carried by his father to Tarsus, to be there instructed by Euthydemus the Phenician, who was a good Rhetorician. Where he was also instructed in the philosophie of Plato, and Chrysippus, and the Peripatetics, not neglecting entirely that of Epicurus. But the Pythagorean doctrine he most approved. In all these things, says Eusebius, this man was instructed, who is said to have learned no language, and to have known the thoughts of men by a divine power.” A just observation.

I shall now take another passage from the first book of the Life of Apollonius. “ That (y) my historie might be the more compleat,

M m 2

“ says

(s) ... καὶ λοιμῶν ἀποστρώσαι σὺν τῶν χει.
Jambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 28. num. 135.

(t) *Vit. Ap. l. 1. cap. 19. p. 23.*

(u) *Contr. Hierocl. p. 518.*

(x) *Philostr. l. 1. cap. 7.*

(y) *L. 1. cap. 20.*

A. D. 303. " says Philostratus, I once intended to omit nothing related by Da-
 " mis, and to give a particular account of what passed among the
 " Barbarians. But my design leads me to higher and more won-
 " derfull things. Two things, however, there are, which cannot
 " be omitted. One is the fortitude of Apollonius in travelling a-
 " mong barbarous people, whose countrey abounds with robbers, as
 " having never been under the Roman Government: the other is
 " his wisdom, whereby, after the manner of the Arabians, he at-
 " tained to the knowledge of the languages of brute animals. This
 " he learned among the Arabians. For this science is common a-
 " mong the Arabians. And they attend to the voices of birds, with
 " the same respect as they do to oracles."

But what is there wonderfull in all this? The celebrated fortitude is merely human. And the interpretation of the languages of brutes is all conjecture. And any man who undertakes it, may ascribe what meaning he pleases to their sounds, without being confuted by any. Nevertheless such pretensions can expose men to laughter only.

Upon which Eusebius (z) remarks after this manner. " So that
 " to all the forementioned masters, must be added the wise men of
 " Arabia, who taught him the art of divination, and enabled him
 " to understand, that (a) sparrows by chirping call others to partake
 " of food with them, an observation delivered by him with the ad-
 " miration of many. And in like manner, when in his journey to
 " Assyria, he espied a lionesse just dying with eight whelps, by the
 " same learning he understood how long he should stay with the
 " Persians."

I shall here refer such readers as are curious, and have leisure, to some chapters of Porphyrie (*) in his work, concerning Abstinence from the flesh of animals. Where he speaks of some men having attained

(z) *Ut supr.* p. 518.

(a) *Vid. Philost.* l. 4. cap. 3.

(*) *De Abstin.* &c. l. 3. §. 3. 4. 5. &c.

attained to the skill of understanding the languages of animals, and then of animals understanding each others languages.

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The storie of the lionesse, to which Eusebius refers, as it stands in Philostratus, is to this purpose. “As (*b*) Apollonius and Damis
“ were travelling, a lionesse was killed near them in hunting, which
“ was of an uncommon size, and when opened, had eight whelps.
“ Apollonius therefore, after observing the wild beast, and after hav-
“ ing meditated a good while, said: O Damis, the time of our stay
“ with the King will be a year and eight months. For he will not let
“ us go sooner. Nor will it be easie for us to leave him before that
“ time. From the whelps the number of the months is to be concluded, as
“ the lionesse herself denotes a year.” Wonderfull mysterie, truly!

This storie brings to my mind what is said by Laërtius (*c*) of Empedocles, “an ancient Pythagorean Philosopher: who, when the
“ Etesian winds were very violent at Agrigentum, so as to destroy
“ the fruits of the earth, he ordered some asses to be flayed. And
“ having made bottles of their skins, they were placed at the
“ tops of the hills for stopping the winds. And the effect being an-
“ swerable, he obtained the name of *Averter of winds*.”

Menage, in his notes, says, “nothing (*d*) more silly could possibly be invented.” But yet it is mentioned with tokens of approbation and credit by Porphyrie (*e*) and Jamblichus (*f*) in their Lives of Pythagoras, and by Philostratus (*g*) in his Life of Apollonius. And indeed, I think, it as likely a method for stopping a plague, as that taken by Apollonius at Ephesus, before mentioned.

Upon the whole, this work of Philostratus appears to me throughout *Pythagorean*. As Jamblichus himself says, in his Life of Pythagoras:

(*b*) *De Vit. Ap. l. 1. cap. 22.*

(*c*) *Diog. l. 8. §. 60.*

(*d*) Nihil ineptius fingi potest eo quod refert hic Laërtius, Empedoclem excoriatum compluribus asinis, et eorum pellibus oppositis austro, exclusisse ventum, et si-

mul pestem, quam, perniciosi isti flatus Agrigentinis inducebant. *Menag. in loc. p. 379.*

(*e*) . . . *num. 29. 30.*

(*f*) *Cap. 28. num. 136.*

(*g*) *L. 8. cap. 7. §. 8. p. 339.*

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goras: "Hence (b) it comes to pass, that all Pythagoreans in general readily assent to such things, as are related of *Aristeas* the Proconnesian, and *Abaris* the Hyperborean, and all other such like things. They assent to all these stories. And they invent many other themselves, as thinking nothing incredible, which is said of the Deity. . . . Nor do they think, that they therefore are weak and silly, but others are so, who disbelieve them. For to say, some things are possible to the gods, others impossible, is the principle not of wise men, but of ignorant pretenders to science." A very fair, and honest confession!

My advice therefore, with which I would conclude this section, is, that they who are desirous to understand the historie, which Philostratus has left us of *Apollonius Tyanaeus*, should read the Life of Pythagoras writ by Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrie, Jamblichus, and the Anonymous author in Photius, and the Lives of Empedocles, and other Pythagoreans, in Laërtius: Observing likewise the stories relating to these men, found in Plutarch, Aelian, and other ancient authors.

Let me however add an observation from Chrysostom. "Jesus Christ, (††) says he, not only prescribed a rule of life, but also planted it every where throughout the whole world. How many things have been said of Apollonius Tyanaeus! but that you might be satisfied, they are all falshood, and fiction, and nothing true: they are extinct, and come to an end."

I have now enlarged upon this point, and have said a great deal of

(b) *Vit. Pyth. cap. 28. num. 138. 139.*
Vid. et num. 135. 136.

(††) Ὁ δὲ χριστὸς ἐκ ἔγραψε πολιτείαν μόνου· ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχῇ τῆς οἰκουμένης αὐτὴν κατερύττει. Πᾶσα λέγεται Ἀπολλάνιος ὁ ἐκ

Τυάνων πεποιηκέναι; Ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθας ὅτι ψεύδος πάντα ἐκείνα ἦν, καὶ φαντασία, καὶ ἀληθὲς οὐδέν· ἐσβέσαι, καὶ τέλος ἔλαβεν. *Chrys. adv. Judaeos. Or. v. T. i. p. 631. A.*

of *Apollonius*, and the historie of *Philostratus*, and some things very different from the general apprehensions of learned men in our time. Nevertheless, if I am not mistaken, I have said little more than was said long agoe by *Dr. S. Parker*, Bishop of Oxford, in his *Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the Christian Religion*. And I therefore intend hereafter to transcribe his observations upon this subject, as an appendix to this chapter.

VII. As I have been led to say so much about the Life of *Apollonius*, writ by *Philostratus*; I shall take this opportunity to consider *two Lives of Pythagoras*, writ, one by *Porphyrus*, whom we have placed at the year of Christ 270. the other by (i) *Jamblichus*, of Chalcis, a disciple of *Porphyrus*: who, as (k) *Fabricius* says, lived in the time of *Constantin*, and probably, died before the year 333. I therefore place him at the year 313. I speak of these writings together, and in this place, for the sake of brevity, that I may not be obliged to make distinct articles of works, that are of little importance to us.

Of the Lives of Pythagoras, writ by Porphyrus and Jamblichus.

Here I shall transcribe at length the observations of *Mr. La Roche*, referred to (l) before. “ I am by no means, says he, of *Mr. Kuster’s* opinion in his (m) note upon *Jamblichus*. I think, he did “ not design to oppose the pretended miracles of *Pythagoras* to those “ of *Jesus Christ*. Nor do *Rittershusius*, or *Lucas Holstenius* in “ their

(i) *Vid. Eunap. de Vit. Philosoph. p. 21. &c.* I think it best to transcribe here entire, the article of *Jamblichus*, in *Suidas*. *Ἰάμβλιχος ἑτερος. Χαλκίδος τῆς Συρίας, φιλόσοφος, μαθητὴς Πορφύρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου τοῦ Πλωτίνου ἀκαδῆ, γεγονώς, κατὰ τὰς χρόνας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἐγραψε βιβλία φιλοσοφικὰ διὰφορα. Suid.*

(k) Hoc certe constat, regnante adhuc *Constantino M.* atque, ut videtur, ante

A. C. 333. e vita discessisse. Nam post Jamblichi mortem Sopater, ejus discipulus, in Constantini M. se aulam contulit, teste Eunapio, in Aedesio. p. 34. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 28. T. 4. p. 283. Vid. et Tillem. L’Emp. Constantin. art. 91.

(l) See above, p. 252.

(m) *Vid. Jambl. de Vita Pythag. cap. 2. num. 10. not. 13. p. 7. Amst. 1707.*

“ their notes say, that Jamblichus, or Porphyrie had any such in-
 “ tention. There is nothing in Jamblichus, or in what remains of
 “ Porphyrie’s Life of Pythagoras, but what they would have said
 “ if there had been no Christians in the world. The same may be
 “ said of Philostratus, in the Life of Apollonius. I wonder the
 “ learned Dr. Gale should suspect in his notes upon Jamblichus de
 “ mysteriis p. 244. (n) that Jamblichus did indirectly reflect upon
 “ the incarnation of the Θεανθρώπου.” * * *

I am of opinion, that this last observation, as well as the others, is very right. But what I add farther shall relate to the two Lives of Pythagoras, writ by Porphyrie, and Jamblichus. And that they had no intention to oppose Pythagoras to the Lord Jesus Christ, appears to me very evident for these two reasons.

First of all, they have said nothing new of Pythagoras, nothing, but what had been often said of him before the appearance of the Christian Religion in the world. As Josephus says, “many (o) authors have writ the historie of Pythagoras.” So it appears from the two writers of his Life above mentioned, and from Diogenes Laërtius, who expressly quote many authors by name for what they say, and seem also sometimes to refer to traditionarie accounts.

And

(n) Suspicio interim Jamblichum per haec jamdudum oblique notasse ἐνσάγκωσαν Θεανθρώπου. Gale.

* * * Since writing what is above, and indeed, since finishing this whole chapter, as I was revising it, I have observed, that Mr. Mosheim also went into the common opinion concerning these two Lives of Pythagoras. I shall therefore here transcribe what he says : But I do not think it needful to add one syllable to my argument, as already finished. Pythagorae vitam hoc saeculo Porphyrius, sequenti Jamblichus, uterque eo sine dubio consilio exaravit, ut

par Christo rebus omnibus, maxime miraculis et praeceptorum sapientia, philosophus ille videretur. Demonstratum hoc dedit in adnotationibus ad Jamblichi vitam a se editam Ludolphus Kusterus, et videbit facile, cui placebit cum Servatoris nostri historia utramque vitam conferre. Non agnus agno similior esset, quam Christo Pythagoras, si vera forent quae de hoc duumviri illi scripta reliquerunt. Mosheim. de Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 562.

(o) . . . πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστορήκασιν. Contr. Ap. l. i. cap. 22.

And Origen observes, “ that (p) many strange things were said
“ of Pythagoras, who shewed his ivorie thigh at the assemblée of
“ the Greeks, and pretended to know the shield, (hung up at Myce-
“ nae) with which he had fought, when he was Euphorbus, and
“ is said to have been seen on one and the same day in two cities.”
So writes Origen. And they were old stories long before his
time.

Kuster (q) was of opinion, that in his Life of Pythagoras, Jam-
blichus borrowed from Porphyrie, without naming him. And he
wonders at it. Vossius (r) was of the same opinion. And other
learned men, I suppose, have formed the same judgement. Ne-
vertheless I must take the liberty to say, that I cannot see any good
ground for that supposition. And I am of opinion, that they both
found the same stories in writers more ancient than themselves ;
whom they both transcribed, and sometimes almost word for
word.

Secondly, most of the things related by those two authors, are so
trifling, and so manifestly fabulous, that I cannot believe, they in-
tended to oppose them to the miracles of Jesus Christ.

The golden, or ivorie thigh of Pythagoras, comes over again and
again in (s) Jamblichus. Nor is it omitted by (t) Porphyrie.
And

(p) *Contr. Cels. l. 6. num. 8. p. 280.*

(q) *Vid. Jambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 14. num. 63. et Porph. de Vit. Pythag. num. 27. et 45.*

(r) Cum Jamblichus, ob argumenti et materiae similitudinem conjunximus Porphyrium de Vita Pythagorae : cujus scri-
nia noster (quamvis tacito, quod miror, ejus nomine,) identidem compilavit. *Kust. Praef. in Jambl.*

(r) Tractârat hoc argumentum antea praeceptor ejus Malchus, sive Porphyrius: ex cujus de Pythagora libro multa, vel iisdem, vel leviter immutatis verbis scripsit Jamblichus. *Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. 18.*

(s) *Jambl. cap. 19. n. 92. cap. 22. n. 135. Vid. et num. 140.*

(t) *Porph. num. 28.*

And his solicitous concern to dissuade men from eating beans: which they endeavour to justify by saying, that (u) by their food he endeavored to lead men to virtue. Abaris the Scythian, or Hyperborean, they (x) say, travelled with great ease and expedition over seas and rivers, upon an arrow. "Which, (y) as they also say, some supposed to have been the case of Pythagoras, when he was in one and the same day in Metapontus and Tauromenium." This is both in Jamblichus and Porphyrie, in the places above referred to. And says Porphyrie, "if (z) credit is to be given to his historians, and those ancient, and of unquestioned authority, he extended his instructions to brute animals. He laid hold of the Daunian bear, which had done abundance of mischief, and having stroaked it a long while, and given it bread and acorns, he adjured it no more to eat flesh, and let it go. After which it lived quietly in the woods, and on the mountains, and never more attacked so much as a brute animal. And when he saw the ox at Tarentum straying at will in the fields, and eating green beans; he went to the herdsman, and desired him to speak to the ox, *not to eat beans*. But he said, he did not understand the language of oxen. Pythagoras then went to the ox himself, and whispered it in the ear. Whereupon the ox not only left the field, in which the beans were, but never more ate any." So writes, that great Philosopher, Porphyrie. And to the like purpose Jamblichus.

The

(u) . . . διὰ τῆς τροφῆς ἀρχόμενος εἰς ἀρετὴν ὁδηγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. *Jamb. cap. 23. num. 109.*

(x) *Jamb. cap. 28. n. 136. Porph. num. 28. 29.*

(y) Ὅπερ ὑπενόησαν καὶ Πυθαγόραν τινὲς πεποιθέναι τότε, ἡνίκα ἐν Μεταποντίῳ καὶ ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ τοῖς ἑκατέρωθεν ἑταίροις ὁμίλησεν τῇ

αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. *Porph. num. 29. Jamb. n. 136.*

(z) Ἐἰ δὲ δεῖ πιστεύειν τοῖς ἱστορίαισι περὶ αὐτῆς, παλαιοῖς δὲ ἔσι καὶ ἀξιολόγοις, κ. λ. *De Vit. Pyth. num. 23. 24. Vid. et Jamb. de Vita Pythagorae cap. 13. num. 60. 61.*

The miracles of our Saviour are all great and awfull, related by credible witnesses, with all the circumstances of credibility. The trifling and fabulous accounts of Pythagoras cannot be set in competition with them. It is sufficient disparagement to those proud and learned Philosophers, that they gave credit to the Pythagorean fables. We need not reproach them with an intention to oppose them to the miracles of Jesus Christ.

I therefore allege no testimonies out of these two works. I see not in them any references to our Saviour's miracles, or the evangelical historie. They are all over *Pythagorean*, like the Life of Apollonius, writ by Philostratus : upon which I have expatiated so much, that there can be no need for me to enlarge any farther upon these.

VIII. As I have been obliged to take some notice of these two Lives of Pythagoras, I shall also observe upon another work of *Jamblichus*, not now extant, entitled *Of Images*, or as Fabricius (a) calls it, *Of the Divinity of Images*, of which there is some account in Photius.

Jamblichus of Images.

Says Photius : " We (b) read the treatise of *John Philoponus* against the

N n 2

(a) Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων, seu de divinitate imaginum liber, quem confutavit Joh. Philoponus, teste Photio, quem vide codice 215. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. 24. T. 4. p. 293. Conf. Tom. 9. p. 450.*

(b) Ανεγνώσθη Ιωάννης τῷ φιλοπόνῳ κατὰ τῆς σπουδῆς Ιαμβλίχου, ἣν ἐγράψεν περὶ ἀγαλμάτων. Ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν ὁ σκοπὸς Ιαμβλίχου θεῖά τε δᾶσαι τὰ εἰδωλά (ταῦτα γὰρ ὑποβάλλει τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἀγάλματος) καὶ θείας μετεσσίας ἀνάπλεα : οὐ μόνον ὅσα χεῖρες ἀνθρώπων κρυφία πράττει τεχνισάμεναι, διὰ τὸ ἀδηλον τῷ

τεχνίτῃ διοπετῇ ἐπωνόμασαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐρανίας τε φύσεως εἶναι, κακῶθεν ἐπὶ γῆς πασεῖν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν φέρειν συνεσήσαντο· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα τέχνη χαλκευτική τε καὶ λαξευτική, καὶ ἡ τεκτόνων ἐπὶ δήλῳ μισθῷ καὶ ἐργασίᾳ διαμορφώσαντο. Τέτων οὖν πάντων ἔργα τε ὑπερφύη, καὶ δόξης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονα γράφει Ιαμβλίχος, πολλὰ μὲν ἀπίθανα μυθολογῶν, πολλὰ μὲν εἰς ἀδήλους φέρων αἰτίας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἐναντία γράφειν ἐκ ἀιχυνόμενος. Εἰς δύο δὲ ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν διατέμνει, τὴν μὲν μέζονα καλῶν,

τὴν

“ the work of *Jamblichus*, which he inscribed *Of Images*. The
 “ design of *Jamblichus* is to shew the divinity of idols, (for so he
 “ calls images,) and that they are filled with the divine presence,
 “ and not only such as having been formed by a secret art, and there-
 “ fore are said to have fallen down from Jupiter: for these being of
 “ an heavenly nature, and having fallen down thence to this earth,
 “ are always so called: but also such as have been formed by the skill
 “ of the founder, or engraver, or smith. All these, *Jamblichus*
 “ says, are supernatural works, and surpass the common opinion
 “ of men about them. In support of this, he tells a great many
 “ incredible stories: some things he ascribes to occult causes. Nor
 “ is he ashamed to assert things, contradictorie to what is obvious to
 “ human sight. The whole work is divided into two parts, one
 “ called the greater, the other the less. Both which are confuted
 “ by *Philoponus*.”

A wonderful work, truly! Another instance of Pythagorean credulity, and in that respect exactly resembling the *Lives of Pythagoras* before mentioned. So writes *Jamblichus*, himself a philosopher, and a disciple of *Porphyrus*, also a renowned philosopher, and hearer of (c) *Plotinus*.

Lucas Holstenius was of opinion, that (d) *Porphyrus* likewise published a work with this same title, *Of Images*.

Such were the Philosophers of that time. They did little or nothing to improve the sentiments of mankind. They confirmed the prejudices of the common people, and made them still worse, than they otherwise would have been. If any others have since resembled them therein, they are far from deserving commendation.

τὴν δὲ ἐλάττω. Καθ' ἑκατέρας δὲ τούτων
 καὶ φιλόπονος ἴσεται. Phot. cod. 215. p.
 353.

(c) See before, p. 271. note (i).

(d) *Luc. Holsten. de Vita et Scriptis*
Porphyr. cap. ix. p. 53. Cantabrig. 1655.
cap. x. p. 268. Ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr.
T. 4.

C H A P. XL.

Diocletian's Persecution of the Christians.

- I. *An Introduction to the Historie of this Persecution.*
- II. *The civil State of the Empire at that Time.* III. *General Accounts of this Persecution, taken from ancient Authors.* IV. *The Date of it, and the several Edicts then published against the Christians.* V. *The sufferings of the Christians at that Time.* VI. *The Edict of Maximian Galerius in their Favour, in the Year 311.* VII. *How the Persecution was still carried on by Maximin in the East.* VIII. *How Constantin overcame Maxentius at Rome, in 312. and He and Licinius, in the same Year published their first Edict in Favour of the Christians.* IX. *Maximin's Letter to Sabinus, in Favour of the Christians in 312.* X. *The second Edict of Constantin and Licinius, in Favour of the Christians.* XI. *Maximin is overcome by Licinius, publisheth a new Edict in Favour of the Christians, and dies.* XII. *Two ancient Inscriptions*

con+

concerning Diocletian's Persecution. XIII. Concluding Observations upon this Persecution.

*From the
Year 303.
to 313.
Introduc-
tion.*

I. **I**T is not my intention to write at length a historie of the persecution, which began in the reign of Diocletian, or to give an account of all, who suffered at that time. But I shall refer to several ancient Authors, who have given a general account of it, and shall take some remarkable events of it from Eusebius, and from Lactantius, or Caecilius, or whoever is the author of the Book concerning the Deaths of Persecutors. I shall likewise take particular notice of the several Edicts, which were then published against the Christians, and the Edicts published in their favour by Constantin and Licinius, and others. To all which may be added some remarks.

Eusebius begins the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical Historie in this manner. “It (a) is beyond our abilities, fully to declare how
“great credit the doctrine concerning the worship of the God over
“all, which had been published to the world by Christ, was in
“with all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, before the persecuti-
“on, which happened in our time. However there are these evi-
“dences of it. For such was the favour of the Emperours toward
“our people, that some of them were entrusted by them with the
“government of provinces, at the same time excusing them from
“the necessity of offering sacrifices, out of respect to our religion.
“What need have I to mention the many, who were in the palaces
“of the Emperours? by whom not only they, but likewise their
“wives, and children, and servants, were allowed to live openly,
“according to the principles of their religion: and who were pre-
“ferred to others for their fidelity. Among these I may particu-
larly

(a) *Euseb. H. E. l. 8. cap. i. p. 291. 292.*

“early mention (b) *Dorotheus*, who was advanced above the most honorable magistrates and Governours of provinces. To whom I might add the excellent *Gorgonius*, and divers others, who attained to the like glorie, and who, like them, strictly adhered to the doctrine of the word of God. And great respect was shewn to the Presidents of the churches, not only by private persons, but also by Procurators, and Governours of provinces. Great multitudes of men daily embraced the faith of Christ. Assemblies in the places of prayer were numerous. And not contented with the old edifices, they erected from the foundation in every city spacious buildings. Thus they went on continually encreasing, till they had provoked the divine displeasure.” For, as he goes on to acknowledge, this liberty and prosperity had produced loosnesse of manners, and carelesnesse about their conduct. And there were contentions among the Presidents of the churches, and the people were divided into factions.

From the
Year 303.
to 313.

Thus writes Eusebius, somewhat oratorically, as must be owned: nevertheless, I believe, very truly. And I have thought fit to take this his preface for my *introduction* to the account of this persecution. For it is a testimonie to the great progresse of the Christian Religion, and shews, what was at that time the state of things among the professors of it.

II. And as it is needful to have some notion of the civil state of the Empire at that time, I shall here briefly rehearse some things, which were formerly shewn more at large in another (c) place.

The civil
state of
the Em-
pire.

Diocletian, born at *Dioclea*, an obscure town in *Dalmatia*, was proclaimed Emperour on the 17. day of September, in the year of Christ 284. On the first day of April, in 286. *Maximian*, called *Her-*

(b) Those two great men had the honour to suffer martyrdom in the begining of this persecution, being put to death by strangling.

Euseb. H. E. l. 8. cap. vi. p. 297.

(c) See the Credibility. P. 2. ch. vii. p.

335. &c.

From the
Year 303.
to 313.

Herculius, born near Sirmium in Pannonia, who had been Cesar some while before, was declared Augustus, and joint Emperour with *Diocletian*.

On the first day of March 292. *Constantius Chlorus*, and *Galerius Maximian*, were created Cesars by the two fore-mentioned Emperours. And the better to secure the fidelity of the Cesars, new marriages were conluded for them. *Constantius*, dismissing *Helena*, mother of *Constantin*, married *Claudia Theodora*, daughter-in-law of *Maximian Herculus*. And *Galerius Maximian* married *Valeria*, daughter of *Diocletian*.

Constantius, the first of the two Cesars, is highly commended by *Eusebius*: and has likewise a good character in Heathen authors. By *Claudia Theodora*, whom he now married, he had several sons and daughters.

Under those two Emperours and their two Cesars, in the year 303. began what is called *Diocletian's Persecution*, which lasted ten years, or more, in some parts of the Empire, before it was extinguished.

In the year 305. *Diocletian* and *Maximian Herculus* resigned the Empire, both (d) on the same day, the first of May: the former at a place near Nicomedia, the other at Milan. At the same time *Constantius Chlorus*, and *Galerius Maximian*, were declared August and Emperours, and *Maximin* and *Severus* Cesars. *Diocletian*, after that, spent the remainder of his days near Salonae in Dalmatia, and died in 313. *Maximian Herculus* retired, for the present, into that part of Italie, which was called Lucania.

The

(d) Uterque una die privato habitu, imperii-insigne mutavit, Nicomediae Diocletianus, Herculus Mediolani. Concesserunt autem Salonas unus, alter in Lucaniam. Diocletianus in villa, quae

haud procul a Salonis est, praeclaro otio senuit, inusitata virtute usus. &c. *Eutrop.* l. 9. cap. 27. et 28. *Conf. Victor. de Caesar.* cap. 39. et *Victor. Epit.* cap. 39.

The Empire was then divided between *Constantius* and *Galerius* and their Cefars. *Constantius* had for his part Italie, Gaul, Britain, Africa, and the other provinces of the western part of the Empire. *Galerius* had Illyricum, Thrace, Asia, and the East, with Egypt. *Constantius* soon quitted Italie, and the other provinces belonging to him, and gave them to *Severus*, contenting himself with Gaul and Britain. *Galerius* too kept only Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia, yielding to *Maximin* the East, that is, Syria, with the provinces depending upon it, together with Egypt.

From the
Year 303.
to 313.

Constantius died at York in Britain, on July 25. in the year 306. And upon his death-bed appointed his son *Constantin*, who was with him, his heir and successor, with the stile and title, as it seems, of Emperour and Augustus. Immediately upon the death of his father *Constantin* was so proclaimed by the soldiers in Britain. But *Galerius Maximian* would allow him no higher title than that of Cesar. Which *Constantin* accepted of for the present. So, as Eusebius says (e) in his Chronicle, *Constantin* began to reign in the fourth year of the persecution.

On the 27. day of October in 306. *Maxentius*, son of *Maximian Herculus*, who had married the daughter of *Galerius*, assumed the title of Emperour and Augustus at Rome. And being sensible, that this would displease *Galerius*, he sends for his father *Maximian Herculus*, who thereupon resumed the purple. And in this year, or the following, 307. *Severus*, who, as Cesar had for his share Italie and Africa, was overcome, and put to death.

Maximian and his son *Maxentius* did not long agree together. *Maximian* therefore, the better to strengthen his interest, and carry on his own views, goes to *Constantin* in Gaul. And some time in this year 307. gives to him in marriage his daughter *Fausta : Minervina*,

(e) Quarto persecutionis anno Constantinus regnare coepit. Chr. p. 180.

From the
Year 303.
to 313.

nervina, his former wife, by whom he had his eldest son *Crispus*, being dead, as is supposed. And now, as it seems, *Constantin* receives the title of Augustus from *Maximian*.

About this time *Galerius* makes *Licinius*, his old acquaintance, a man of mean extraction, Augustus. And now there were in effect six Emperours: *Maximian*, who, as before said, had resumed the purple, *Galerius*, *Constantin*, *Maximin*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius*.

Maximian Herculus, after a base and unsteady conduct, was condemned, and put to death by *Constantin's* order in 310. *Galerius* died in 311. of a long and grievous distemper, supposed to have been inflicted upon him, as a judgement from heaven, for his inhuman treatment of the Christians. *Maxentius* was overcome by *Constantin*, and drowned in the river Tiber on the 27. day of October, in 312. *Maximin* died in 313. The manner of his death is particularly described in the (f) book of the Deaths of Persecutors, and in (g) Eusebius. I just add here, though it was mentioned before, that Diocletian also died in the year 313.

But before the death of *Maximin*, in the same year 313. *Constantin* married his sister *Constantia* to *Licinius*. And, as from that time their interests were united, so, upon the death of *Maximin*, the whole Empire was in their power, and was divided between them.

But their friendship did not long subsist without interruption. For in the year 314. the animosity between them broke out into an open war, and two battles were fought. After the last of which peace was concluded, and a new partition was made of the Empire.

A second war between them began in 323. and was concluded in 324. with the entire defeat of *Licinius*, who was then reduced to a private condition. And though his life was then given him, at the intercession of *Constantia*, he was put to death in the year 324. or 325.

That

(f) *De M. P. cap. 49.*

(g) *H. E. l. 9. cap. x. p. 363. C. D. 364. A.*

That was the end of those civil wars in the Empire. And *Constantin* now became sole Emperour of the East and the West. And having reigned above thirty years from the death of his father *Constantius*, he died on the day of Pentecost, May 22. 337.

*From the
Year 303
to 313.*

III. I shall now observe some general accounts of this persecution, which are to be found in divers ancient authors.

*General
Accounts
of it.*

Says Orosius: "The (*b*) tenth persecution was ordered by Diocletian and Maximian Herculus, the one ruling in the East, and the other in the West. Which persecution was longer and more grievous than any of the former. It was carried on for ten years without ceasing, with burning down the churches, proscriptions of innocent men, and slaughters of martyrs." But he presently after says, that (*i*) in the second year of the persecution Diocletian and Herculus resigned the Empire, leaving the government to Galerius and Constantius.

Sulpicius Severus says, "that (*k*) in the reigns of Diocletian and

O o 2

"Max-

(*b*) Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculus in Occidente vastari ecclesias, affligi interficique Christianos, decimo post Neronem loco, praeceperunt. Quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior et immanior fuit. Nam per decem annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, caedibus martyrum, incessabiliter acta est. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 25.*

Per annos decem evercae sunt ecclesiae vestrae, ut etiam tu fateris: dilacerati cruciatibus, exaniti mortibus toto orbe Christiani. Tenemus evidens testimonium tuum, nullam superiorem persecutionem adeo vel gravem vel diuturnam fuisse. *Id. l. 7. cap. 26.*

(*i*) Secundo persecutionis anno Diocletianus ab invito exegit Maximiano, ut simul purpuram imperiumque deponerent. . . . &c. *Id. ibid.*

(*k*) Post eum [Valerianum.] interjectis annis fere quinquaginta, Diocletiano et Maximiano imperantibus, acerbissima persecutio exorta, quae per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est: qua tempestate omnis fere sacro martyrum cruore orbis infectus est: quippe certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur, multoque avidius tam martyria gloriosis mortibus quaerebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus adpetuntur. Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est: neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus,

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“ Maximian, began that severe persecution which for ten whole years
“ afflicted the people of God. At which time almost the whole
“ world was stained with the precious blood of Martyrs. For then
“ glorious martyrdom were as earnestly contended for, as Bishopricks
“ are now sought by ambitious men. Never was the world more
“ wasted by any war. Nor ever had we a more glorious victorie,
“ than when we could not be overcome by the slaughters of ten years.
“ After the end of that persecution there began to be Christian Em-
“ perours, which have continued to this time.”

Theodoret (*l*) says, this persecution lasted nine years. The Au-
thor of the Deaths of Persecutors says, (*m*) ten years and about four
months: making his computation from the first beginning of it at Ni-
comedia, to the edicts of Constantin and Licinius, which restored full
peace to the churches.

IV. These are only general accounts of this persecution. The parti-
culars of it, the time, the events and circumstances of it, and the se-
veral edicts, then published against the Christians, or in their fa-
vour, may be seen in Eusebius, and in the Author of the Deaths of
Persecutors, who by many has been supposed to be *Firmianus La-*
tantius, but I rather think to be *Lucius Caecilius*, as was formerly (*n*)
shewn at large, and has often been hinted again in several places.

There had been before a persecution in the armie, which began,

as

cimus, quam cum decem annorum stragi-
bus vinci non potuimus. Sed finis perse-
cutionis illius fuit abhinc annos ix. et lxxx.
A quo tempore Christiani imperatores ef-
se coeperunt. Namque tum Constanti-
nus rerum potiebatur, qui primus omni-
um Romanorum principum Christianus
fuit. &c. *Sul. Sever. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 47.*
al. cap. 32. et 33.

(*l*) *Theod. H. E. l. 8. cap. 39. p. 248.*

B.

(*m*) Sic ab everfa ecclesia usque ad re-
stitutam fuerunt anni decem, menses plus
minus quatuor. *De M. P. cap. 48. ad*
fin.

(*n*) See *Credib. P. 2. vol. viii. p. 89.*

... 98.

as some think, (o) in the year 298, others (p) in the year 301. It is taken notice of by Eusebius (q) in his Chronicle, and by (r) the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors. In his Ecclesiastical Historie (s) Eusebius says, that many militarie men embraced a private life, rather than renounce the worship of the great Creator of all: and that some of them not only resigned their honours, but also suffered death for their resolution in professing the truth.

In the year 303. (t) the persecution became general. For (u) on the 23. day of Februarie in that year, the church of the Christians at Nicomedia in Bithynia was demolished, Diocletian and Galerius being then both in that city. On the next day, Feb. 24. the (x) edict against the Christians was published. According to (y) the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors, and (z) Eusebius likewise, Galerius was the chief author of this persecution. When the edict had been published at Nicomedia, it (a) was sent to Herculus, and Constantius, to be put in execution by them in those parts of the Empire, which were particularly under their care. Maximian Herculus, (b) in Italia,

(o) *Pagi 298. num. ii. et ann. 302. iii.*

(p) Itaque ab anno 298. particularis militum vexatio incipere potuit. Ab anno 301. generalis exorsa est. *Basnag. ann. 301. num. ii.*

(q) Veturius, magister militiae, Christianos milites persequitur, paullatim ex illo jam tempore persecutione adversum nos incipiente. *Chr. p. 179. Et Conf. Vales. ann. in H. E. l. 8. cap. iv. Vid. et Basnag. ann. 301. n. ii. iii. iv.*

(r) . . . datisque ad Praepositos literis, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia praecepit, ut qui non paruissent, militiâ solverentur. *De M. P. cap. x.*

(s) *L. 8. cap. iv.*

(t) *Vide Pagi 302. num. iii. v. Basnag. 303. num. v.*

(u) Terminalia deliguntur, quae sunt

ad septimum Calendas Martias: ut quasi terminus imponeretur huic religioni. . . . Qui dies cum illuxisset . . . ad ecclesiam profectus cum ducibus, et tribunis, et rationalibus venit. . . Veniebant igitur praetoriani, acie structâ, cum securibus . . . et immissi undique, tamen illud editissimum paucis horis solo adaequatur. *De M. P. cap. 12.*

(x) *De M. P. cap. 13. in.*

(y) *De M. P. cap. 10. 11. 12.*

(z) *Euseb. H. E. l. 8. c. 16. p. 314. D.*

(a) Et jam literae ad Maximianum et Constantium commeaverant, ut eadem facerent. Eorum sententia in tantis rebus non expectata erat. *De M. P. cap. 15.*

(b) Et quidem senex Maximianus libens

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lie, readily complied. But Constantius, (c) though he did not dare openly to oppose his colleagues, moderated the persecution within the extent of his government.

When (f) the Praetorian and other soldiers, who were appointed to demolish the church at Nicomedia, had broken open the doors, they searched for the image of the God of the Christians. But found none. However, they found their scriptures, which they burnt.

When the edict was set up the next day, a Christian of uncommon zeal took it down, and tore it to pieces, nor rightly, as Caecilius acknowledgeth. For which he was put to death, after having suffered great torments. All which he endured with great fortitude. This particular is mentioned, both (g) by Caecilius, and (h) Eusebius.

By that (i) edict, as Caecilius says, whom I consider as author of the Book of the Deaths of Persecutors, "*it was ordained, that all men of the Christian Religion should be deprived of all honours and dignities,*"

beris per Italiam paruit, homo non adeo clemens. *Id. ib.*

(c) Nam Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum praeceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est: verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. *De M. P. cap. 15.*

Vexabatur ergo universa terra, et praeter Gallias, ab oriente usque ad occasum tres acerbissimae bestiae saeviebant. *Id. cap. 16. Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. 8. cap. 13. p. 309. D. et p. 317. D. Vit. Const. l. 1. cap. 13. p. 413. D. et cap. 16. et 17.*

(f) . . . et revulsis foribus, simulachrum Dei quaeritur. Scripturae repertae incenduntur, datur omnibus praeda. Rapitur, trepidatur, discurritur. *De M. P. cap. 12.*

(g) Quod edictum quidam, etsi non recte, magno tamen animo diripuit et conscidit. . . . Statimque productus, non modo extortus, sed etiam legitime coctus, cum admirabili patientia postremo exustus. *De M. P. cap. 13.*

(h) *H. E. l. 8. cap. v.*

(i) Postridie propositum est edictum, quo cavebatur, ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore et dignitate, tormentis subjecti essent ex quocunque ordine aut gradu venirent, adversus eos omnis actio caleret: ipsi non de injuria, non de adulterio, non de rebus ablatiis agere possent, libertatem denique ac vocem non haberent. *De M. P. cap. 13.*

“ties, that of whatever rank or degree they were, they should be liable to
 “torture: that any action might be received against them: and that
 “they, on the other hand, should have no right to bring an action against
 “any, for any violence done to them, or for any goods taken from
 “them. And finally, that they should lose all privileges, and the right of
 “voting.”

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 Year 303.
 to 313.

Eusebius says, “that (l) in the nineteenth year of the reign of
 “Diocletian, in the month of March, were set up every where
 “imperial edicts, appointing, that the churches should be demolished to
 “the foundation, that the scriptures should be burnt: that they who en-
 “joyed any honours should lose them, and that men of private condition
 “should be deprived of their liberty, if they persisted in the profession of
 “Christianity. Such was the first edict, that was published against
 “us. Soon after which, by other edicts it was ordered, that (m) all
 “Presidents of the churches every where should be put into prison, and
 “then that they should by all ways imaginable be compelled to sa-
 “crifice.”

He afterwards speaks of a third edict, to this purpose: “The (n)
 “former edicts were followed by another, in which it was ordained, that
 “they who were in prison should be set at liberty upon their having sa-
 “crificed: but that they who refused, should be subjected to all kinds of
 “torments.” “Whereupon, he says, it is scarcely possible to reckon
 “up the numbers of Martyrs, who after that suffered in every pro-
 “vince, especially in *Africa, Mauritania, Thebais, and Egypt*: from
 “which [last] many went to other cities and provinces, where they
 “were honoured with martyrdom.”

In

(l) L. 8. cap. 2. p. 294. B.

(m) . . . πρώτα μὲν δεσμοῖς παραδίδασθαι,
 εἴθ' ἵερον πάση μηχανῇ θύειν ἐξαναγκάζεσθαι.
 Ibid.

(n) Αὐθις δ' ἐτέρων τὰ πρώτα γράμματα

ἐπικατεληφότων, ἐν οἷς τῆς κατακλείσεως, θύ-
 ναντας μὲν, εἴαν βαδίζουσιν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίας· ἐνισα-
 μένους δὲ μυρίαις καταζαίνειν προσέτακτο ἑα-
 σάμεναι. Ib. cap. 6. p. 298. C.

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Year 303.
to 313.

In the third chapter of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius has these words. “*Afterwards (o) in the second year of this terrible war waged against us, imperial edicts were first brought to Urbanus, Governour of this province, in which by a general precept it was ordered, that all people in every city should be required to offer sacrifice and incense to idols.*”

This must be a fourth edict. For there were three before this, all set forth in the first year of the persecution. When Eusebius says, that this edict was now, in the *second year, first brought to Urbanus*: he must not be understood, that no edict against the Christians had been brought to Urbanus before: but no such edict.

This edict, Eusebius supposeth to have been more general, than any of the former. And indeed, he expressly says, at the end of the preceding chapter, “*that (p) the first year of the persecution affected the Presidents of the churches only.*” I do not think that to be exactly true. For Eusebius himself has related martyrdoms of divers others in the *first* year of the persecution. But we must conclude, from what he here says, that the edict in the second year was expressed in more general and comprehensive terms, than any of the foregoing. Which is a proof of the encreasing rage of the persecutors.

We have now settled the date of this persecution, and have seen the several edicts, which were published at the beginning of it. And in all these four edicts *Diocletian* must have joyned with *Maximian Galerius*. For they were published before his resignation, in 305. the third year of the persecution.

V. I

(o) Δευτέρῃ δ' ἔτις διαλαβόντος, καὶ δὴ σφοδρότερον ἐπιταθέντος τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμῳ, τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμένῳ τῆνικαδε Ὀυρβανῷ, γραμματέων, τέτῳ πρῶτον βασιλικῶν πεφοιτηκότων, ἐν οἷς καθολικῶν προσάγματι πάντας πανδημῇ τὸς κατὰ πόλιν θύειν τε καὶ σπένδειν

τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἐκελεύετο. *De Mart. Pal. cap. 3. p. 321. A.*

(p) Ταῦτα μὲν ἔτι πρῶτῳ τῷτον ἀπετελέσθη τὸν τρόπον κατὰ μόνων τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προέδρων ἐπιτημένῳ τῷ διωγμῷ. *De Mart. Pal. cap. 2. p. 320. D.*

V. I should now give some account of the many and grievous sufferings of the professors of Christianity at this time. But it must be a summarie account only. However, we cannot pass over in silence this affecting scene, in which we behold the grievous sufferings of many innocent and excellent men, and their heroical patience and fortitude under them.

*From the
Year 303.
to 313.*

*Sufferings
of the
Christians
at that
Time.*

1. At the begining of his historie of the calamities of this time, Eusebius with great grief says, "he (*q*) had with his own eyes seen " the houses of prayer demolished to the foundation, and the divine-
" ly inspired and sacred scriptures burnt in the market places."

2. After having mentioned the edict before taken notice of by us, which ordered, that all Presidents of churches should be bound, and imprisoned, he says: "There (*r*) followed a spectacle, which no
" words can sufficiently express. Great multitudes were thereupon
" confined every where. And in every place, the prisons, which used
" to be filled with murderers, and robbers of sepulchres, were then
" filled with Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, and Readers, and
" Exorcists, so that there was no room left for such as were con-
" demned for crimes."

3. In the thirteenth chapter of the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical Historie, Eusebius rehearseth in a summarie manner, the martyrdoms of divers Presidents of the churches: of which he gives a more particular account in some other chapters of the same book, or of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine.

As

(*q*) . . . ὅπνίκα τῶν μὲν προσευκτηρίων τὰς
οἰκὰς εἰς ἑδάφος αὐτοῖς θεμελίους καταρρίπτου-
μένους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ ἱερὰς γραφὰς κατὰ μέ-
σας ἀγορὰς πυρὶ παραδιδόμενας αὐτοῖς ἐπεί-

δομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς. *H. E. l. 8. cap. 2. p.*
293. C.

(*r*) *Ibid. cap. vi. p. 298. B.*

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to 313.

As the titles of the chapters are supposed to have been drawn up by Eusebius himself, I also transcribe the title of this (s) chapter, which is in these words: *Of the Presidents of the Church, who demonstrated the truth of the religion which they preached, by the effusion of their own blood.*

“ Among those Presidents of the churches, who suffered martyr-
“ dom in the most noted cities, the first to be recorded by us in the
“ monuments of the pious, as a witness of the kingdom of Christ,
“ is *Anthimus*, Bishop in the city of Nicomedia, who was beheaded.
“ Of Antioch *Lucian*, a Presbyter of that church, a man of an un-
“ blemished character throughout his whole life. He also suffered at
“ Nicomedia, where, in the presence of the Emperour, he first apolo-
“ gised for the heavenly kingdom of Christ in words, and afterwards
“ farther recommended it by deeds. The most eminent Martyrs in
“ Phenicia, and most acceptable to God, were those pastors of the
“ flock of Christ, *Tyrannio*, Bishop of the church at Tyre. *Zeno-*
“ *bis*, Presbyter of the church at Sidon. *Silvanus*, Bishop of the
“ church at Emesa. Who, with several others, was given to be
“ food to the wild beasts at Emesa itself. And in that way was
“ numbred among the Martyrs. The other two suffered at Anti-
“ och, where they glorified the word of God by patience unto
“ death. The Bishop, *Tyrannio*, was drowned in the sea. *Zenobi-*
“ *us*, a most excellent physician, whose sides were cruelly raked, di-
“ ed courageously under those tortures. Among the Martyrs of Pa-
“ lestine, *Silvanus*, Bishop of the churches at Gaza, was beheaded,
“ together with nine and thirty others at the mines of brasse, which
“ are in Phaeno. *Peleus* and *Nilus*, Egyptian Bishops, with divers
“ others, were burnt to death in the same place. Nor (t) can *Pam-*
“ *philus*

(s) Cap. 13. p. 307. &c.

(t) A more particular account of *Pamphi-*
lus, who with eleven others suffered martyr-
dom at Cesarea, may be seen, *De Mart. Pa-*

lest. cap. xi. p. 336. The historie of this
excellent man, and remarks upon it, may
be seen *Credib. of the Gospel Historie, vol.*
v. ch. lix. p. 304. . . 343.

" *philus* be omitted here, a Presbyter, who was the great ornament
 " of the church of Cesarea, the most admirable man of our age,
 " whose virtues we have also celebrated elsewhere. Of those who
 " were perfected by a glorious martyrdom at Alexandria, and
 " throughout all Egypt, and Thebais, the first to be mentioned is
 " *Peter*, Bishop of Alexandria, a most excellent preacher of the Chri-
 " stian Religion. And of the Presbyters, who were with him, *Fau-*
 " *stus*, and *Dius*, and *Ammonius*, were perfect Martyrs of Christ. *Phi-*
 " *leas* likewise, and *Hesychius*, and *Pachumius*, and *Theodorus*, Bi-
 " shops of the churches in Egypt. And beside these, many others,
 " eminent men, who have an honourable mention among the
 " churches, which are in those places and countreys."

From the
 Year 303.
 to 313.

4. The eighth chapter of the same book not being very long, I
 shall transcribe it entire, as it represents a variety of sufferings, endured
 by the Christians at that time. " Such (*u*) was the combat of those
 " Egyptians, who gloriously contended for the faith at Tyre. They
 " also are justly admirable, who suffered martyrdom in their own
 " countrey. Where innumerable men, [*μυρίοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες*]
 " with their wives and children, despising this temporal life for the
 " sake of our Saviour's doctrine, underwent various sorts of death.
 " Some of them, after their flesh had been torn off by torturing irons,
 " after having been racked, and cruelly scourged, and a great variety
 " of other tortures, frightful to hear of, were committed to the
 " flames, or thrown into the sea. Some chearfully offered their
 " heads to be cut off by the executioners. Some expired under their
 " tortures. Some died by famine. Some were crucified: some of
 " them after the usual manner of inflicting that punishment upon
 " malefactors: others after a more cruel manner, being nailed to the
 " crosse with their heads downward, and kept alive, till they died by
 " famine on the crosses."

P p 2

5. Eu.

(*u*) *L. 8. cap. 8. p. 300.*

*From the
Year 303.
to 313.*

5. Eusebius still goes on in the next chapter, of which also I shall take a part. “ But (x) the pains, and tortures, endured by the
“ Martyrs at Thebais, exceed all expression. For they were torn all
“ over their bodies with sharp shells, instead of torturing irons, till
“ they expired : Women were tied by one of their feet, and drawn
“ up on high into the air, by certain machines, with their heads
“ downwards : and their bodies being naked, and wholly uncovered,
“ they were made a shamefull, as well as inhuman spectacle to all
“ beholders. Others were bound to the boughs of trees, and so killed.
“ For by certain engines they drew together the strongest
“ boughs : and having fastened the legs of the Martyrs to each of
“ them, they let the boughs return to their usual situation, that the
“ members of the persons, against whom they had invented that
“ torture, might be presently pulled asunder. Such things were
“ done, not for a few days, nor a small space of time, but for whole
“ years together : when sometimes more than ten, at other times above
“ twenty in number, were destroyed : at sometimes not less
“ than thirty, at other times almost sixty. And at other times an
“ hundred men together, with many little children and women, were
“ killed in one day : they having been condemned to various and interchangeable punishments. We ourselves also, when in that country, have seen many suffer in one day. When some were beheaded, others were consumed by fire. Insomuch that the swords of the executioners were blunted, and being useless were broken to pieces. And the executioners being tired, they succeeded each other by turns.”

6. In a following chapter. “ But (y) what need can there be,
“ that I should mention any more by name, or recount the vast number of the persons, or describe the various torments of the admirable Martyrs of Christ ? But some were beheaded, as it happened to those in Arabia : others had their legs broken, as it happened
“ to

(x) *Cap. ix. p. 300.*

(y) *Cap. xii. p. 305.*

“ to those in Cappadocia. Some were hung up on high with their
 “ heads downwards. And a slow fire being put under them, they
 “ were suffocated by the smoak of that combustible matter. Which
 “ was the case of those in Mesopotamia. Others had their
 “ noses or their ears, and their hands cut off, and the other members
 “ and parts of their bodies mangled, as it happened to those in A-
 “ lexandria. What need I to revive the remembrance of what was
 “ done at Antioch: where some were broiled on gridirons, not to
 “ kill them outright, but to prolong the pains of their sufferings?”

*From the
 Year 303.
 to 313.*

“ These things were done at Antioch. But to hear what was done
 “ at Pontus must fill the mind with horror. Some had sharp reeds
 “ thrust up the fingers of both their hands from the tops of their
 “ nails. Others had melted lead poured upon their backs, whilst it
 “ was boiling: which ran down, and scalded the most necessarie
 “ parts of the body. Others, without commiseration were made to
 “ endure obscene tortures in their bowels, and those members of the
 “ body, which modestie forbids to mention: by (z) all which
 “ these noble and legal Judges manifested their wonderfull acute-
 “ nesse: as if they had thought it a part of wisdom and virtue, to
 “ exceed each other in contriving new ways of torture: and, as if
 “ such inventions were entitled to signal rewards. Nor was there
 “ an end put to these calamities, till despairing to add any thing new
 “ to those already practised, wearied with slaughters, and satiated
 “ with the effusion of blood, they betook themselves to what was
 “ esteemed by them clemence and humanity, that they might seem
 “ no longer to practise severity toward us. Nor was it fit, they said,
 “ that the cities should be polluted by the blood of their inhabi-
 “ tants: nor that the government of the Emperours, who were be-
 “ nign and mercifull to all, should be blemished by any excessive cru-
 “ elties: but it was reasonable, that the imperial benevolence should
 “ be

(z) ... ὡς οἱ γενναῖοι καὶ νόμιμοι δικάσαι τὴν τῶν σφῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δεινότητα, κ. λ.
 p. 306. C.

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“ be extended to all, and that Christians should not suffer capital punishments: Forasmuch we were now exempted from it by the indulgence of the Emperours. From that time therefore it was enjoined, that their eyes should be plucked out, and that one of their legs should be debilitated. Such was their humanity, and that the most gentle punishment, that could be inflicted upon us! And henceforward, upon account of this lenity of those impious wretches, it is (a) impossible to reckon up the numbers of those, who had their right eyes first thrust out with a sword: and then seared with red-hot irons: and of those who had the flexures of their left legs seared with irons. After which they were sent to the brass mines in the province: not so much for the sake of the service they could do there, as with a view to encrease their miseries.”

7. In (b) his book of the Martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius again makes mention of this. And says: “ that Firmilian, President of the province after Urbanus, inflicted this punishment upon many, and as by express order from the Emperour Maximin.” Nor (c) has Caecilius, in his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, omitted to take notice of this cruelty.

8. And in another place (d) Eusebius has particularly mentioned an excellent man, named *John*, of whom he says, “ He had before lost his sight. Nevertheless in the confessions, which he had made, when the flexures of one of his feet were seared, as those of others were, his eyes likewise, though already deprived of sight, were burnt with the searing irons.”

9. Once

(a) οὐκέτι δυνατόν ἐξεπαῖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον. p. 307. A.

(b) *De M. Pal. cap. viii. p. 330. B.*

(c) Nam cum clementiam specie tenus profiteretur, occidi servos Dei vetuit, debilitari iussit. Itaque confessoribus effo-

diebantur oculi, amputabantur manus, pedes detruncabantur, nares vel auriculæ defecabantur. *De M. P. cap. 36. in fin.*

(d) *De Martyr. Pal. cap. 13. p. 344. A. Compare Credib. P. 2. vol. v. p. 317. 318.*

9. Once more under this article, Eusebius assures us, “ that (e) “ armed soldiers invested a town in Phrygia, and set fire to it, and “ consumed all the people therein, men, women, and children: “ because all the inhabitants of the place, the Curator, the Duum- “ vir, and the rest of the magistrates, and all the common people, “ professed themselves Christians, and would not obey those who “ commanded them to sacrifice.” Lactantius, (f) in his *Instituti- ons*, representing the great cruelty of this persecution, and the num- ber of sufferers in it, has referred to this among other severities of the Governours of provinces at that time.

*From the
Year 303.
to 313.*

VI. In the year 309. *Galerius Maximian* was seized with a grievous distemper, the symptoms of which are described very particularly, and at large, both in (g) Eusebius, and (h) Caecilius. It continued above a year. And when he was near expiring, in 311. he publish- ed an edict in favour of the (i) Christians. It is still extant in Latin in Caecilius, and in Eusebius in Greek, with the Inscription, which is omitted by Caecilius. I intend to translate it from the Greek of Eusebius, and to put the Latin of Caecilius at the bottom of the page.

*The Edict
of Galeri-
us in Fa-
vour of
the Chri-
stians.*

(e) *H. E. l. 8. cap. xi. p. 304.*

(f) Quae autem per totum orbem sin- guli gesserint, enarrare impossibile est. Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita, tam varia genera crudelita- tis? Accepta enim potestate pro moribus suis quisque saevivit. Alii prae nimia ti- miditate, plus ausi sunt, quam jubebatur. Alii suo proprio adversus justos odio: qui- dam naturali mentis feritate: nonnulli, ut placerent, et hoc officio viam sibi ad alti- ora munirent: alii ad occidendum prae- cipites exstiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia,

“ Having
qui universum populum cum ipso pariter
conventiculo concremavit. *Lact. Inst. l.*
5. cap. xi. p. 490.

(g) *H. E. l. 8. cap. xvi.*

(h) *De M. P. cap. 33.*

(i) Et haec facta sunt per annum per- petem, cum tandem malis domitus, Deum coactus est confiteri, novi doloris urgentis per intervalla exclamat, se restitutum Dei templum, satisque pro scelere facturum. Et jam deficiens edictum misit hujusmo- di. *De M. P. cap. 33. fin.*

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" Having (k) long struggled with his disease, says Eusebius, he
" in the end, seriously recollecting things within himself, became
" sensible of the injuries he had done to pious men. And having
" first made confession to the God of the universe, he called to him
" the chief officers of his court, and ordered, that they should cause
" the persecution against the Christians to cease immediately without
" any delay. And by an imperial edict he directed, that the churches
" of the Christians should be rebuilt, that they might there perform
" their usual worship, and make supplications to God for the Em-
" perour. Whereupon edicts were without delay set up in all the ci-
" ties, containing a retractation of what had been done against us,
" and conceived in the form following."

" *The Emperour Cesar Galerius Valerius Maximianus, Invincible,*
August, High-Priest . . . to the people of the province. " Among (l)
" other

(k) *Euseb. H. E. l. 8. cap. 17. p. 315.*
Etc.

(l) Inter cetera, quae pro reipublicae
semper commodis et utilitate disponimus,
nos quidem volueramus antehac juxta le-
ges veteres, et publicam disciplinam Ro-
manorum cuncta corrigere, atque id pro-
videre, ut etiam Christiani, qui paren-
tum suorum reliquerant sectam ad bonas
mentes redirent. Siquidem quadam ra-
tione tanta eosdem Christianos voluntas
invasisset, et tanta stultitia occupasset, ut
non illa veterum instituta sequerentur,
quae forsitan primum parentes eorum
constituerant, sed pro arbitrio suo, atque
ut hisdem esset licitum, ita sibimet leges
facerent, quas observarent, et per diversa
varios populos congregarent. Denique
cum ejusmodi nostra jussio exstitisset, ut
ad veterum se instituta conferrent, multi
periculo subjugati, multi etiam deturbati

sunt: atque cum plurimi in proposito per-
severarent, ac videremus, nec Diis eos-
dem cultum ac religionem debitam exhi-
bere, nec Christianorum Deum observa-
re, contemplationem mitissimae nostrae cle-
mentiae intuentes, et consuetudinem sem-
piternam, quâ solemus cunctis hominibus
veniam indulgere, promptissimam in his
quoque indulgentiam nostram credidimus
porrigendam: ut denuo sint Christiani, et
conventicula sua componant, ita ut ne
quid contra disciplinam agant. Aliâ au-
tem epistolâ judicibus significaturi sumus
quid debent observare. Unde juxta hanc
indulgentiam nostram, debebunt Deum
suum orare pro salute nostrâ, ut rei-pub-
licae, ac suâ, ut undiqueversum res
publica perstet incolumis, et securi vive-
re in sedibus suis possint. *De M. P.*
cap. 34.

" other things, which we have ordered with a view to the benefit and
 " prosperity of the publick, we did indeed formerly strive to correct all
 " things according to the ancient laws, and established constitution of
 " the Romans. And among other things, that the Christians, who had
 " forsaken the religion of their ancestors, should return to a right mind:
 " forasmuch as by some means such an obstinacie had seised them, and
 " such was their folly, that they followed not the institutions of the an-
 " cients, which, possibly, some of their own ancestors had appointed:
 " but according to their own fanſie, and just as they pleased, they made
 " laws for themselves to be observed and followed by them: and in ma-
 " ny places they drew over multitudes of people to follow their customs.
 " Wherefore when after we had published our edict, that they should
 " return to the institutions of the ancients, many have been exposed to
 " danger, and many have been greatly afflicted, and have undergone va-
 " rious kinds of deaths: and forasmuch as great multitudes persist in
 " their opinions, and we have perceived, that they give not due worship
 " and reverence to the immortal Gods, nor yet worship the God of the
 " Christians: we duly considering our accustomed mildnesse and humanity,
 " with which we are wont to dispense pardon to all men: we have
 " thought proper readily to hold forth to them our indulgence: that they
 " may at length be Christians, and that they may rebuild the houses, in
 " which they have been used to assemble, provided they do nothing con-
 " trarie to good government. By another letter we shall make known
 " our pleasure to the Judges, for the direction of their conduct: Where-
 " fore, agreeably to this our indulgence, they ought to pray to their God
 " for our welfare, and for that of the publick, and for their own, that
 " on all sides the publick may be preserved in safety, and they may live
 " securely in their own habitations."

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This edict, as (m) Caecilius says, was published at Nicomedia, on
 the

(m) Hoc edictum proponitur Nicomediae pridie Calendas Maias, ipso octies et
 Maximino iterum consulibus. Cap. 35.

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the last day of the month of April, in the year 311. It was of benefit to many: *Donatus* (*n*) in particular, to whom *Caecilius* addresseth his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, was set at liberty, after having endured an imprisonment of six years. During (*o*) which time he had made divers confessions before several Governours of the province, and undergone various tortures. And, to his great honour, he continued steady to the persuation of his own mind, (*p*) shewing an example of invincible fortitude.

It is obvious to all to observe, that this edict bears testimonie to the great progresse of the Christian Religion. There were many Christians in the Roman Empire. And they were continually making new converts, and encreasing their numbers. Some were unsteady. But many others persisted, notwithstanding the sufferings they were exposed to. We seem also to see here a very bad effect of persecution. Some became desperate, and cast off all religion: neither worshiping with due reverence the established, nor any other deities. We have here also evident proof of the strong and prevailing prejudice in favour of antiquity. As the Christians had departed from the ancient customs, they were judged to deserve the severest treatment upon that account, till they returned to them. This alone was reckoned sufficient to cast and condemn them: without weighing the reasons, which they might allege for their innovation.

There are still other remarks, which might be made, and have been made upon this edict, and the accounts given of it by our ecclesiastical historians.

“ Says

(*n*) Tunc apertis carceribus, Donate carissime, cum ceteris confessoribus e custodia liberatus es: cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit. *Id. ib.*

(*o*) Novies enim tormentis cruciatibus-

que variis subiectus, novies adversariam gloriosa confessione vicisti. &c. *Id. cap. 16.*

(*p*) Documentum omnibus invictae fortitudinis praebuisi. *Ibid.*

“ Says Mr. Mosheim : “ Eusebius (q) and the Author of the book *From the*
 “ of the Deaths of Persecutors say, *that Maximian, before he pub-* *Year 303.*
Q q 2 “ *lished* *to 313.*

(q) Eusebius et Lactantius tradunt, Maximianum, antequam hoc edictum ferret, *Deo errorem suum confessum esse, atque exclamasse inter dolores, se pro scelere satisfacturum.* Quod si ita sese haberet, professus esset, se Christianorum Deo justas crudelitatis adversus Christianos poenas dare, atque ultionem ejus sentire. Sed ne hoc verum esse putemus, obsistit ipsum Imperatoris, quod nobis hi scriptores exhibent, edictum. Tantum enim abest, ut Maximianus in eo fateatur, se male ac injuste egisse, ut potius bene ac sapienter acta esse omnia, quae in Christianos sanxerat, contendat. Nempe ait, voluisse se legibus suis efficere, *ut Christiani qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent.* Amentes ergo Christianos etiam in ultimo vitae suae acto judicabat, et Romanorum religionem meliorem longe et saniores Christiana non esse dubitabat. Paullo post diserte Christianos *stultitiae* arguit. Neque vovula ipsi excidit, ex qua cogi possit, poenitentiam factorum animum ejus subiisse, aut Christianam religionem ipsi sanctam et unice veram esse visam. Duplicem vero causam affert animi sui erga Christianos mutati : primum animadvertisse se, Christianos vi et periculo ad sacrificandum coactos omnis religionis expertes vivere, atque nec Christum nec Deos colere. *Cum pluri in proposito perseverarent, ac videremus, nec Diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere, nec Christianorum Deum*

observare. Qualemunque igitur et pravam etiam religionem meliorem esse ducebat nulla religione, Christianosque malebat sua sacra sequi, quam sine religione vivere. Caussae huic aliam addit, clementiam nempe suam : *Contemplationem mitissimae clementiae nostrae intuentes, et consuetudinem sempiternam, quam solemus cunctis hominibus veniam indulgere, promptissimam in his quoque indulgentiam nostram credidimus porrigendam, ut demum sint Christiani.* Non ergo juri et justitiae, verum clementiae suae videri volebat Maximianus obtemperare : *veniam*, ut ait, hominibus, quos *stultos* esse dixerat, et *bonae mentis* inopes, indulgebat : non innocentibus et bonis justum sese praebebat. Credam facile, has rationes Imperatori amicos et consiliarios suggestisse, quibus utebatur. Sed ultima edicti verba veram sine dubio causam aperiunt, quae ipsi hoc edictum expressit, et mentem simul ejus de religione Christianorum declarant : *Unde juxta hanc indulgentiam nostram debebunt Deum suum orare pro salute nostra et reipublicae, ac suae : ut undiqueversum res publica restet incolumis, et securi vivere in sedibus suis possint.* Ex his verbis manifestum est, 1. Maximianum credidisse, habere Christianos Deum quemdam. Atqui, 2. Deum hunc non esse supremum Deum omnium conditorem, quem omnes homines colere debent, sed Deum tantum Christianorum, id est, certae cujusdam gentis Deum, quales multi Dii esse videbantur

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“ *lished this edict, confessed his offense to God, and amidst the pains of*
 “ *his distemper, cried out, that he would make satisfaction for the in-*
 “ *juries he had done to the Christians.* If that be true, he must have
 “ acknowledged, that the distemper, under which he labored, was
 “ a just punishment from God for his cruelties against the Christi-
 “ ans. But so far is he from doing so, that on the contrarie, the
 “ edict shews, that the Emperour is so far from confessing, that he
 “ had acted unjustly, that he declares that all his sanctions against
 “ the Christians were well and wisely ordered. *His aim, he says,*
 “ *had been, to effect by his laws, that the Christians, who had forsaken*
 “ *the religion of their ancestors, should return to a right mind.* In
 “ this last act of his life, therefore, he considered the Christians as
 “ labouring under distraction, and did not at all doubt, that the re-
 “ ligion of the Romans was much better, and sounder than the Chri-
 “ stian. A little lower he expressly chargeth the Christians with
 “ folly. Nor does one word drop from him, whereby we should
 “ be induced to suppose, that he believed the Christian Religion to
 “ be true. He assigns a twofold reason of the change of his mind
 “ toward

bantur esse. Suos enim cuique genti Deos esse proprios et peculiares, Romani Graecique, omnesque illa aetate populi arbitrabantur. 3. Huic certae gentis Deo magnam esse potentiam, ut bonam valetudinem largiri, periculaque a republica depellere possit. 4. Beneficia vero haec sua non erogare Deum illum, nisi a cultoribus suis exoretur. Sine dubio igitur aliquis eorum, qui misere aegrotanti Maximiano aderant subjecerat, Deum Christianorum, his in terris agentem, mortuis vitam, aegrotantibus sanitatem reddidisse: hanc ejus beneficentiam non desisse: multa exempla exflare hominum Christianorum precibus mirabili modo sanatorum. Fieri ergo posse, ut ipse quoque ejus ope atrocem illum morbum, a quo consume-

batur, superaret, si cultoribus illius pacem daret, precesque eorum expeteret. Fidem Imperator, vitae cupidissimus monitori huic habebat, et eâ re, quum omnia desperata essent, frustra que Dii Romanorum precibus et sacrificiis fatigati essent, postremo ad Christianorum Deum, quem tamen ipse colere nolebat, confugiebat. Metus ergo mortis, visque superstitionis, non vero angor conscientiae admissa scelera detestantis, edictum illud pariebat. Promulgato vero eo statim ubique bellum in Christianos cessabat, captivi dimittebantur: exules revocabantur: conventus ubique, nemine repugnante, habebantur. *Mosheim. De Reb. Christian. &c. p. 956.*
 . . . 958.

“ toward the Christians. *First of all*, he had observed, that the
“ Christians, who had been compelled by force to sacrifice, had
“ thrown off all religion, and worshiped neither Christ, nor the
“ Gods. And he thought, that any religion, though bad, was bet-
“ ter than none: and he had rather, that the Christians should fol-
“ low their own religion, than be without religion. To this reason
“ he adds *another*, which is his own clemence: for he had
“ been accustomed to hold forth pardon to all men. Therefore
“ Maximian would not be thought to yield to right and justice, but
“ he would display his own clemence. He gave pardon to men,
“ whom he had called *fools*, and *destitute of a sound mind*: but he
“ did not shew himself just to innocent and good men. I can ea-
“ sily believe, says Mr. *Mosheim*, that these reasons were suggested
“ to the Emperour by his friends and counsellors, who were about
“ him. But the last words of the edict, no doubt, open the true
“ reason, which drew it from him, and at the same time declare
“ his mind concerning the religion of the Christians. *Wherefore*
“ *agreeably to this our indulgence, the Christians ought to pray to their*
“ *God for our welfare, and for that of the publick, and for their own,*
“ *that on all sides the public interest may be safe, and they may live se-*
“ *curely in their own habitations.* From these words it appears, 1.
“ that *Maximian* believed, the Christians had some God. 2. That
“ this God was not the supreme God, maker of all things, whom
“ all ought to worship, but the God of the Christians only, that is,
“ the God of some certain people, as many of the Gods were sup-
“ posed to be. For at that time the Greeks and Romans, and all
“ other people believed, that there were Gods proper and peculiar
“ to every nation. 3. He believed, that this God, of one nation,
“ had great power, and was able to bestow health, and deliver the
“ publick from many evils. 4. That this God did not bestow such
“ benefits upon any, unless they who worshiped him, asked them
“ of him. Without doubt therefore some of those who attended on
“ *Maximian* in his deplorable sicknesse, had informed him, that the
“ god

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“ god of the Christians, when he dwelled on this earth, had given
“ life to the dead, and health to the sick : and that this his benefi-
“ cence had not yet ceased : and that there were many instances of
“ men, who had been healed in a wonderfull manner by the pray-
“ ers of Christians. It was not impossible therefore, but that he
“ also might obtain deliverance from his grievous maladie, if he gave
“ peace to his worshipers, and asked their prayers for him. The
“ Emperour, earnestly desirous of life, had a regard to this adviser,
“ and thereupon, when prayers and sacrifices to the Gods of the
“ Romans had failed of succeſſe, he at length fled to the God of
“ the Christians, whom nevertheless he himself would not wor-
“ ship. Fear of death therefore, and the force of superstition, pro-
“ duced this edict, not anguish of conscience for the sins, which he
“ had been guilty of. However, upon the promulgation of this
“ edict, the persecution against the Christians ceased, the prisoners
“ were set at liberty, the exils were recalled.”

These observations of Mr. Mosheim are uncommon, and, as seems to me, curious. I therefore have transcribed them here, supposing that my readers may be willing to see them.

How
Maximin
still car-
ried on
the Perse-
cution.

VII. At the begining of the ninth book of his Ecclesiastical Hi-
storie, Eusebius says : “ The (r) revocation, contained in the fore-
“ said Imperial edict, was published throughout Asia, and in all it’s
“ provinces. But *Maximin*, who ruled in the provinces of the East,
“ an impious man, if ever there was one, and a bitter enemy to the
“ worship of the God of the universe, being much displeased with
“ it : instead of publishing the edict itself, only (s) sent orders by word
“ of mouth to the Governours, directing, that they should forbear
“ to give us any disturbance, and no longer persecute us. Which
“ ordinance

(r) H. E. l. 9. cap. i. p. 346. Esc.

εφ' προσάγματι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσιν τὸν καθ'

(s) . . . λόγῳ προσάττει τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρ-
χουσιν, τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεῖναι πόλεμον . . . ἀγρά-

ἡμῶν διωγμὸν ἀνεῖναι προστάττει. Ib. p. 347.
A. B.

“ ordinance the Governours of provinces were to communicate to
“ each other. And Sabinus, who had the prefecture of the Prae-
“ torium, which is the highest office in the Empire, made known
“ the Emperour’s mind to the Governours of the severall provinces
“ in a letter writ in the Roman language, which we have translated
“ into Greek, and is to this purpose. *The majesty of our most sacred*
“ *Lords the Emperours, influenced by the pious and devout principle,*
“ *with which their minds are filled, have long since designed to bring all*
“ *men to the true and right way of living: and that they who have*
“ *embraced different usages from the Romans, should be induced to give*
“ *due reverence to the immortal Gods. But such is the obstinacie and*
“ *perversnesse of some men, that neither the justice of the Imperial e-*
“ *dicts, nor the imminent danger of punishment could prevail upon them.*
“ *Forasmuch therefore, as by this means it has happened, that many*
“ *have brought themselves into great dangers, our most sacred and pow-*
“ *erfull Lords the Emperours, agreeably to their innate piety and cle-*
“ *mence, considering it to be far from their intention, that upon this ac-*
“ *count many should be exposed to danger, have commanded us to write*
“ *this letter to you, and to direct you, that if any of the Christians should*
“ *be found practising the worship of their sect, you should not bring him*
“ *into any danger, nor give him any trouble, nor appoint any punish-*
“ *ment to him upon that account. Forasmuch as it has been manifestly*
“ *found by the experience of a long course of time, that they cannot by any*
“ *means whatever be induced to depart from this obstinacie of disposition.*
“ *You are therefore to write to the Curators, and other magistrates,*
“ *and to the governours of the villages of every city, that they are no*
“ *longer to concern themselves in this affair.”*

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Here is a remarkable testimonie, from enemies, to the patience and fortitude of the Christians of that time. They were not induced to renounce their religion through fear of sufferings. If some yielded, as undoubtedly some did, many persevered, and were faithfull to death.

Eusebius

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Eusebius goes on. "Hereupon the Presidents of provinces thought, that to be the real mind of the Emperour, which had been communicated to them in the letter of *Sabinus*. And they accordingly wrote to the officers and magistrates (*t*) in countrey-places. Nor did they only write these things in their letters, but by their actions also they endeavored to secure a regard to those orders of the Emperour. They therefore presently set at liberty all whom they had confined in prisons for the confession of their faith in God. A like liberty was granted to such as had been condemned to the mines. For they really thought, that to be the mind of their Prince, though it was quite otherwise. However, upon this occasion our places of worship were opened, and the congregations of the faithful were numerous. . . . And many were seen returning to their habitations, singing hymns of praise to God, as they travelled along the roads."

"But, says (*u*) Eusebius, that enemy of good men, and of all goodnesse, who ruled in the East, could not endure this, nor suffer this state of things to last more than six months. And trying all manner of ways to subvert the peace, upon some pretence or other, he forbid our meeting in the cemeteries. Then (*x*) he took care to send ambassies to himself, from the Antiochians, and the people of other cities, in which they ask it of him as the greatest benefit, that no Christians may be allowed to live in their cities. The author of this contrivance at Antioch was *Theotecnus*, a subtle and wicked impostor, who then had the office of Curator in that city."

"This (*y*) man forged against us many injurious reports and calumnies, that we might be treated as thieves and the worst of malefactors."

(*t*) καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἀγρὰς ἐπιτεταγμένοις. τὸς ἑαυτῶ καθ' ἑμῶν προσβέβηται. P. 349.
P. 348. A. B.

(*u*) H. E. l. 9 cap. 2. p. 349.

(*y*) Ibid. cap. 3. p. 349.

(*x*) . . . εἶτα διὰ τινων πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀν-

“ lefactors. At length he erected an image to *Jupiter Philius*, and
 “ consecrated it with magic charms. And in honour of it instituted
 “ many vain and impure ceremonies of initiation, and detestable
 “ rites of expiation. And sent some of the oracles of his God to
 “ the Emperour himself. And the better to flatter and please the
 “ Emperour, he stirred up his demon against the Christians. And
 “ gave out, *that the God commanded, that the Christians should be ex-*
 “ *pelled out of the city, and the territories belonging to it, as being ene-*
 “ *mies to him.*”

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In the next chapter (z) Eusebius says, that the like things were practised in some other places: And the magistrates and people in general in the countreys subject to this Emperour, behaved very uncivilly and injuriously to the Christians.

“ Then (a) having composed some Acts and Memoirs of Pilate
 “ and our Saviour, filled with all manner of blasphemie against
 “ Christ, by the authority of the Emperour they were sent abroad
 “ every where into cities and countrey-places, and published all over
 “ the Empire. And it was commanded, that they should be set up
 “ every where in countrey-places and cities, to be read by all men.
 “ And that they should be delivered by school-masters to the boys
 “ to get them by heart, and to declaim upon them instead of other
 “ themes. Whilst these things were doing, a militarie officer, whom
 “ the Romans call *Dux*, at Damascus in Phenicia, fetched some in-
 “ famous women from the market-place, whom by threatenings he
 “ compelled to declare, and testify in writing, that they formerly
 “ had been Christians, and that they were acquainted with their
 “ worship, and that in their places of worship, they practised obscene
 “ actions, and every thing else, which he required them to say, for
 “ defaming our religion. Having inserted the testimonies of those
 “ women

(z) *Cap. 4. p. 350.*

(a) *H. E. l. 9. cap. v.*

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“ women into the Acts, he sent them to the Emperour. And by
“ his command, those Acts were published in every city, and other
“ place.”

In another place (b) Eusebius has observed, that the falshood of those pretended Acts of Pilate was manifest from the date of them. For they placed the sufferings of our Saviour under Pilate, in the seventh year of the reign of Tiberius: whereas, says he, it is certain from Josephus, that Pilate was not then come into Judea, and that he was made Procurator of Judea in the twelfth year of that Emperour's reign.

“ Moreover, says (c) Eusebius, in the midst of the cities, which
“ never was done before, decrees of cities, and Imperial Rescripts
“ against us were set up to public view, engraven on tables of brasse.
“ And the boys in the schools had nothing in their mouths all the
“ day long, but Jesus and Pilate, and the Acts, which had been
“ forged to our prejudice. I think it proper for me here to insert
“ the very Rescript of Maximin, which was engraven in tables of
“ brasse. It was conceived in these very words. *A copie of the trans-*
“ *lation of Maximin's Rescript in answer to the Decrees of the cities*
“ *against us transcribed from the brasse table set up at Tyre. Now*
“ *at length, says he, the impudent confidence of men, having once sha-*
“ *ken off the dark mists of errour and ignorance, which for a while*
“ *blinded the minds of men, rather miserable than wicked, may discern,*
“ *that the world is governed by the indulgent providence of the immor-*
“ *tal Gods. It is impossible to say, how gratefull, how delightfull, how*
“ *acceptable, your pious resolution for the honour of the Gods has been*
“ *to us. Nor was it before unknown to any, how great is your respect*
“ *and veneration for the Gods: which have been manifested not by vain*
“ *words only, but also by great works. Upon which account your city*
“ *may be deservedly stiled the seat and habitation of the immortal Gods.*
“ *And it is evident by many proofs, that she flourisheth by the advent*
“ *and*

(b) H. E. l. i. cap. 9. p. 27.

(c) H. E. l. 9. cap. vii. p. 352.

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“ and presence of the heavenly deities. And now, your city, negligent
“ of your own particular interests, and no longer sending to me
“ the requests which you formerly were wont to send, conducive to your
“ own prosperity, when it perceived, that the promoters of the detesta-
“ ble vanity began to creep abroad again : and like fire carelessly raked
“ up, it broke out again with redoubled violence : immediatly, without
“ delay, you had recourse to our piety, as the metropolis of all religion,
“ requesting redresse and assistance. Nor can it be doubted, that this
“ wholesome design has been put into your minds by the immortal Gods,
“ for the sake of your pious regard for them. The most high, and most
“ mighty Jupiter has suggested this petition to you, who presides in your
“ famous city. Who preserveth your countrey-gods, your wives, your
“ children, your families and houses, from destruction. He it is, who
“ has breathed into your minds this salutarie resolution : evidently shew-
“ ing, how excellent, and noble, and profitable it is to worship him,
“ and to perform the sacred rites and ceremonies of the immortal Gods
“ with due veneration. Who can be so void of all sense and reason,
“ as not to know, that it is owing to the propitious favour and bounty
“ of the Gods toward us, that the earth does not neglect to restore to
“ us the seeds committed to it, and that the hope of the husbandman is
“ not disappointed : and that the aspect of destructive war is not im-
“ movably fixed on the earth : and that our bodies are not destroyed by
“ the intemperance of the aire, and that the sea is not perpetually tof-
“ sed, and made to overflow with stormie winds : and that the earth,
“ the mother and nurse of all things, is not rent asunder by agitati-
“ ons within it's own bowels, and mountains swallowed up by vast and
“ unexpected scissures. There is no man, who does not know, that all
“ these, and worse calamities have heretofore often happened. And
“ they have befallen us, because of the pernicious error, and empty
“ vanity of those execrable men, which has so spread, as to cover al-
“ most the whole earth with shame and dishonour. Then, after some
“ other things he adds : Let men now look into the open fields, and
“ see the flourishing corn, waving it's full ears. Let them see the
“ meadows,

From the
Year 303.
to 313.

“ meadows, bedecked with plants and flowers, they having been wa-
 “ tered with seasonable rain. Let them observe the calm and agreea-
 “ ble temperance of the air. Let all men therefore henceforth rejoyce,
 “ that by your piety, and respect for the sacred rites of religion, the
 “ deity of the most valiant and most potent Mars has been appeased :
 “ and that they may now securely enjoy the benefits of a profound and
 “ delightfull peace. And as many as have forsaken that blind errour,
 “ and intricate maze of vanity, and are returned to a right and sound
 “ mind, let them rejoyce abundantly : as men delivered from a dangerous
 “ tempest, or a grievous disease, and have now before them the prospect
 “ of a pleasant and comfortable life for time to come. But if any still
 “ persist in their vain and detestable folly, let them be expelled far away
 “ from your city and countrey, as you have desired, that thus, conform-
 “ ably to your laudable care in this matter, your city being purged from
 “ all defilement and wickednesse, you may, according to your own genuine
 “ disposition, with all due veneration and solemnity, perform the sacred
 “ rites of the immortal Gods. And that you may know, how gratefull
 “ this your petition has been to me, and that without decrees, and without
 “ petitions, I am of my-self forward to encourage well-disposed minds :
 “ we permit you to ask the greatest benefit you can ask, as a reward of
 “ so religious a purpose. Take care that you ask immediatly, and that
 “ you receive what you ask. For you shall obtain it without delay.
 “ Which benefit, bestowed upon your city, shall be henceforward through-
 “ out all time, a monument of your devout piety for the immortal Gods,
 “ and shall declare to your children and posterity, that you have receiv-
 “ ed from our hands a recompense of your love and virtue.”

These petitions from the cities to Maximin, Eusebius in a place before quoted, elegantly calls *ambassies to himself*, they having been solicited by his agents in those cities. Caecilius (*d*) also has taken
 “ notice

(*d*) In primis indulgentiam Christianis legationibus civitatum, quae peterent, ne
 communi tutelae datam tollit, subornatis intra civitates suas Christianis conventicula
 ex-

notice of these petitions, and expresseth himself much after the same manner, saying, that these petitions from the cities were procured by himself.

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Eusebius having exhibited the above Rescript taken from the tables at Tyre, goes on. “ This (*e*) rescript against us was set up on
“ pillars in every province, and as far as it was in the power of man
“ shut us out of all comfortable hopes : so that, according to that
“ divine oracle, *if it were possible, even the elect themselves would be*
“ *offended.*”

These and other things do certainly shew the bitter spirit of Heathenism at that time. And these edicts, and the hard usage, which the Christians met with, in consequence of them, are sufficient to satisfy us, that the Heathen people did their utmost to extirpate Christianity : and if it had been in the power of man, they would have actually destroyed it.

The sufferings of Christians at that time, in that part of the Empire, which was subject to Maximin, were then very grievous. Deliverance was very desirable. And it was near at hand.

VIII. Constantin overcame Maxentius at Rome on the 28. day of October in the year 312. “ And, as Eusebius says, soon (*f*) after
“ that Constantin, and Licinius, who was colleague in the Empire
“ with him, having first adored and praised God, who had been the
“ author of these successes, and of all the good that had happened,
“ did with one mind and consent, enact a full and comprehensive
“ edict.

extruere liceret, ut quasi coactus et impulsus facere videretur quod erat sponte facturus. *De M. P. cap. 36.*

(*e*) *Ubi sup. p. 354. C.*

(*f*) *Καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τέτοις αὐτὸς τε Κωνσταντῖνος*

καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Λικίνιος . . . Θεὸν τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς αἰτίον εὐμενίσαντες ἄμφω, μὴ βελῆ καὶ γνώμη, νόμον ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν τελεώτατον πληρέστατα διατυπῶνται. κ. λ.

H. E. l. 9. cap. ix. p. 360.

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“ edict in favour of the Christians : and then sent it to Maximin,
“ who ruled in the Eastern parts of the Empire, and who pretend-
“ ed friendship for them. Though Maximin was extremely uneasie
“ about it, he could not refuse it. And now first, as Eusebius says,
“ he sent an edict to the Presidents in favour of the Christians, and
“ as of his own proper motion, though really out of necessity, and
“ against his will.”

Maxi-
min's Let-
ter to Sa-
binus in
Favour of
the Chri-
stians in
312.

IX. That edict of Constantin and Licinius, which Eusebius calls
a full and compleat law, is not now extant. It was published, as
may be supposed, at Rome, in the month of November, 312. and
then sent to Maximin, who then immediatly published a Letter to
Sabinus in favour of the Christians, which now follows in Euse-
bius.

A (g) COPY OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER OF THE
EMPEROUR MAXIMIN.

“ *Jovius Maximinus Augustus to Sabinus.* It is, I am persuaded,
“ well known to yourself, and to all men, how that our Lords and Fa-
“ thers, Diocletian and Maximian, when they saw, that almost all
“ mankind were forsaking the worship of the Gods, and going over to
“ the sect of the Christians, did rightly ordain, that (b) all men, who
“ had forsaken the worship of their immortal Gods, should be called back
“ again to the worship of the Gods by public pains and penalties. But
“ when I first of all happily came into the East, and perceived, that great
“ numbers of men, who might be usefull to the publick, were for the
“ forementioned cause banished by the judges into several places : I gave
“ orders,

(g) *Ibid.* p. 360. 361.

(b) . . . ὁρθῶς διατεταχέναι, πάντας, ἀν-
θρώπους τὲς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν τῶν ἀθανά-

των θρησκείας ἀναχωρήσαντας, προδήλῳ κολά-
σει καὶ τιμωρίᾳ εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν τῶν Θεῶν ἀνα-
κληθῆναι. P. 360. C.

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“ orders, that for the future, none of them should be severe toward the
“ people of their province, but rather endeavor to reduce them to the
“ worship of the Gods by fair words and good usage. So long therefore
“ as my orders were obeyed by the judges, no men in the Eastern parts
“ were banished, or otherwise ill-treated. And by reason of the mild-
“ nesse of the treatment given to them, they were the more disposed to re-
“ turn to the worship of the Gods. But after that, when I the last year
“ happily entred into Nicomedia, the citizens of that place came to me
“ with the images of the Gods, earnestly entreating me, that by all
“ means, none of that sect might be at all permitted to dwell in their
“ countrey. But, as I knew, that a great many of that religion were
“ in those parts, I returned them this answer : That I willingly granted
“ their petition : but I did not perceive, that the thing was desired by
“ all. If therefore there were any who persisted in their superstition,
“ every one should, according to his own discretion, choose as he saw
“ fit : and, if they would embrace the worship of the Gods, they might.
“ At the same time I was under a necessity to give a favorable answer
“ to the citizens of Nicomedia, and to the other cities, who also had pre-
“ sented to me the like petitions, that none of the christians might live in
“ their cities : the rather because this had never been allowed by the for-
“ mer Emperours : and moreover it was pleasing to the Gods themselves,
“ by whom all men and the public weal subsist. Upon all these accounts,
“ I was under a necessity to grant their request, in behalf of the wor-
“ ship of the Gods. Wherefore, though I have often before, both by
“ letters, and by word of mouth, recommended to you, that nothing grie-
“ vous should be done to this sect in the provinces, but that they should
“ be treated with mildnesse and gentlenesse : yet that no injurie may be
“ done to them by any of the inferior officers, I have thought it needfull,
“ now by these letters again to remind you, that by fair words, and good
“ usage, you should induce the people of our government to acknowledge
“ the providence of the Gods. Therefore if any, of their own accord,
“ embrace the worship of the Gods, they ought to be chearfully received.
“ But if any will still adhere to their own religion, you are to leave
“ them

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"them in their own power. You are therefore carefully to observe these
"orders. Nor let any one be permitted to oppress the people of our go-
"vernment by fines, or other hardships. And that this our edict may
"be made known to all men in the provinces, you are to publish it with
"a decree also set forth by yourself."

This (i) edict of Maximin is supposed to have been published before the end of the year 312.

Eusebius having alleged this edict, goes on to say. "These (k)
"orders being published by him from a kind of compulsion, and
"not according to the sense of his own mind, he was not reckoned
"to be sincere, or worthie to be trusted: and the rather, because
"after publishing a like indulgence, he had shewed himself to be
"deceitfull and perfidious. Therefore none of our people dared to
"assemble together for worship, nor to shew themselves abroad o-
"penly. Nor indeed did the edict in expresse terms allow of this,
"but only that we might be secure from violence, and bad treat-
"ment. It did not empower us to meet together, nor to build houses
"for our worship, nor to perform any of those solemn acts of reli-
"gion, which are customarie among us: though Constantin and
"Licinius, those patrons of peace and religion, had particularly sig-
"nified in their letters to him, that such things had been granted
"by them, and they were expressed in their laws set forth to the
"view of all men. But that wicked wretch would not yield yet:
"nor till at last, when pursued by the divine vengeance, he was
"compelled to do it against his will."

The second
Edict of
Constan-

X. Constantin did not stay long at Rome after his victorie over Max-
entius, but before the end of the year 312. or in the begining of 313.
he

(i) Postea refert Eusebius epistolam, quam Maximinus ad Sabinum Praefectum Praetorii sui scripsit, quamque currenti anno datam esse, non vero anno insequen-
ti, ut multi eruditi credidere, ex dictis li-
quet. Pagi ann. 312. xv.
(k) Ibid. p. 362.

he went thence to Milan, where he gave his sister Constantia in marriage to Licinius. And there these two Emperours now set forth a second edict in favour of the Christians. Which is preserved in Eusebius (l) in Greek: and is in Caecilius (m) in Latin, excepting that he has omitted the introduction, or preamble. I shall, as I did in another instance, translate the Greek of Eusebius, and place the Latin from Caecilius, at the bottom of the pages.

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to 313.
tin and
Licinius
in Favour
of the
Christians.*

“ Now, says (n) Eusebius, I shall allege the Imperial constitutions of Constantin and Licinius, translated from the Latin.”

“ Having been long since convinced, that the freedom of religion ought not to be restrained, but that leave should be given to every one to follow the sense of his own mind, in things of religion, we have ordained, that as well all others, as the Christians, should adhere to that sect and way of worship, which they approve. But because in that rescript, where this liberty was granted, many and divers sects are expressly named, some, possibly have desisted from such worship. Wherefore (o) when I Constantin Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus, happily

(l) *H. E. l. 10. cap. v. p. 388. &c.*

(m) *De M. P. cap. 48.*

(n) *Ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν διατάξεων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου τὰς ἐκ Ρωμαίων γραφῆς μεταληφθεῖσας ἐρμηνείας παραθώμεθα. Ib. p. 388. A.*

(o) Cum feliciter tam ego Constantinus Augustus, quam etiam Licinius Augustus apud Mediolanum convenissemus, atque universa, quae ad commoda et securitatem publicam pertinerent, in tractatu haberemus, haec inter cetera, quae videbamus pluribus hominibus profutura, vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus di-

vinitatis reverentia continebatur, ut daremus et Christianis, et omnibus, liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset: quod quidem divinitas in sede coelesti nobis atque omnibus, qui sub potestate nostra sunt constituti, placatum ac propitium possit existere. Itaque hoc consilio salubri, ac rectissima ratione ineundum esse credidimus, ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putaremus, qui vel observationi Christianorum, vel ei religioni mentem suam dederat, quam ipse aptissimam esse sentiret: ut possit nobis summa divinitas, cujus religioni liberis mentibus

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*"happily met at Milan, and we consulted together, what might be best,
"and most conducive to the benefit of the publick, among other things,
"these following were resolved upon, as beneficial for all. And in the
"first*

mentibus obsequimur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque praestare. Quare scire dicationem tuam convenit, placuisse nobis, ut amotis omnibus conditionibus, quae prius scriptis ad officium tuum datis, super Christianorum nomine videbantur, nunc cavere, ac simpliciter unusquisque eorum, qui eandem observandae religioni Christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui idipsum observare contendant. Quae sollicitudini tuae plenissime significanda esse credidimus, quo scires, nos liberam atque absolutam colendae religionis suae facultatem hisdem Christianis dedisse. Quod cum hisdem a nobis indultum esse pervideas, intelligit dicatione tua etiam aliis religionis suae vel observantiae potestatem similiter apertam et liberam pro quiete temporis nostri esse concessam: ut in colenda quod quisque diligeret, habeat liberam facultatem, quas . . . honori neque cuiquam religioni aut aliquid a nobis. Atque hoc ipsum in persona Christianorum statuendum esse censuimus, quod si eadem loca, ad quae antea convenire consueverant, de quibus etiam datis ad officium literis certa antehac forma fuerat comprehensa, priore tempore aliquid vel fisco nostro, vel ab alio quocumque videntur esse mercati, eadem Christianis, sine pecunia, et sine ulla pretii petitione, proposita omni frustratione atque ambiguitate restituantur. Qui etiam deno fuerant consecuti, eadem similiter hisdem Christianis quantocyus reddant etiam vel tui qui emerunt, vel qui dono

erant consecuti, si putaverint de nostra benevolentia aliquid, Vicarium postulent, quo et ipsis per nostram clementiam consulatur. Quae omnia corpori Christianorum protinus per intercessionem tuam, ac sine mora tradi oportebit. Et quoniam iidem Christiani non in ea loca tantum, ad quae convenire consueverunt, sed alia etiam habuisse noscuntur, ad jus corporis eorum, id est, ecclesiarum, non hominum singulorum, pertinentia, ea omnia lege qua superius comprehendimus, citra ullam prorsus ambiguitatem vel controversiam hisdem Christianis, id est, corpori et conventiculis eorum reddi jubebis, supra dicta scilicet ratione servata, ut ii qui eadem sine pretio, sicut diximus, restituerint, indemnitate de nostra benevolentia sperent. In quibus omnibus supradicto corpori Christianorum intercessionem tuam efficacissimam exhibere debebis: ut praeceptum nostrum quantocyus compleatur: quo etiam in hoc per clementiam nostram quieti publicae consulatur. Haec tenus fiet, ut sicut superius comprehensum est, divinus juxta nos favor, quem in tantis sumus rebus experti, per omne tempus prospere successibus nostris cum beatitudine nostra publica perseveret. Ut autem hujus sanctionis benevolentiae nostrae forma ad omnium possit pervenire notitiam, prolata programmata tuo haec scripta et ubique proponere, et ad omnium scientiam te perferre conveniet, ut hujus benivolentiae nostrae sanctio latere non possit. *De M. P. cap. 48.*

" first place it was resolved, that such constitutions should be ordained, as
 " might secure the worship and veneration of the Divine Being: that
 " is, that we should grant both to the Christians, and to all others, a
 " free choice, to follow that way of worship, which they judge best:
 " that † so the Godhead, and whatever is divine and heavenly, may be
 " propitious to us, and to all living under our dominion. We publish
 " this therefore as our will and pleasure, and agreeable to sound and
 " right reason, that leave shall not be denied to any man whatever to
 " follow and choose the constitution and worship of the Christians: and
 " that leave be given to every one to betake himself to that religion, which
 " is most agreeable to him: that so the Divine Being [τὸ Θεῖον] may
 " in all things display his usual favour and benignity toward us. More-
 " over it is now thought proper to signify to you, that all the restraints
 " concerning the Christians, which were in the former letter sent to
 " you should be left out: that whatever is unsuitable to our benignity
 " may be omitted, and that now for the future every one who chooseth
 " to adhere to the Christian Religion, may observe it freely, without
 " any impediment or molestation. These things we have thought proper
 " to signify to you, in order to your perceiving, that we have given free
 " and full liberty to these same Christians to follow their own religion.
 " And you may perceive, that as we have granted this full liberty to
 " them; so in like manner we have granted the same liberty to others,
 " to observe their own institution and religion. For, as is manifest, this
 " is suitable to the tranquility of our times: that every one should have
 " liberty to choose and follow the worship of that Deity which he ap-
 " proves. [ὁ ποῖον δ' αὖν βέλεται Θεῖον] This we have determined, that
 " it may appear, we do not forbid, or restrain any religion or way of
 " worship whatever. And farther, with regard to the Christians, we
 " ordain, that the places of worship (concerning which in the letter for-
 " merly sent to you, there was another rule) in which they had been wont

S s 2

" 16

† ὅπως ὁ, τί ποτέ ἐστὶ θεότης καὶ ἁγία
 πρᾶγματος, ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέ-

ραν ἐξουσίαν διάγειν εὐμενὲς εἶναι δυνάμεθα.
 Ap. Euseb. H. E. p. 388. D.

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Year 303.
to 313.*

“ to assemble, that if any of them, have been adjudged to our treasurie
 “ or exchequer, or have been purchased by any, they should be restored
 “ to the Christians, without price, and without delay. And if any by
 “ grant have obtained such places, they are to be immediatly restored to
 “ the Christians. And if any of those, who have purchased such places,
 “ or have obtained them by grant, are desirous to have an allowance
 “ made to them by us, let them apply to the officer who administers jus-
 “ tice in the place where they reside, that a proper regard may be had
 “ to them according to the benevolence of our disposition. You are to
 “ take care, that all these things be restored to the body of the Christians,
 “ without failure. And whereas the same Christians, beside the places,
 “ where they assemble, are well known to have also other possessions, and
 “ such as belong not to particular persons, separatly, but to the commu-
 “ nity, you are to take care, that such places also be restored to the bo-
 “ dy, to which they appertain, without any subterfuge or delay : upon
 “ this condition however, that they who restore these things without
 “ price, may expect indemnity from our liberality. In all these things you
 “ are to exert yourself with the utmost care and vigour, in behalf of the
 “ aforesaid body of the Christians, that our appointment may be per-
 “ formed with all speed : that by this means, agreeably to our gra-
 “ cious intention, provision may be made for the common and public
 “ tranquillity, without delay. Hereby, as before said, the Divine fa-
 “ vour, of which we have already had great experience, will be secured
 “ to us for ever. And that the design of this our law, and our gra-
 “ cious indulgence, may come to the knowledge of all, you are to take
 “ care, that this our Letter be set up every where to public view : that
 “ none may be ignorant of this appointment of our gracious indulgence.”

This (p) constitution or edict, was signed and published at Milan,
 “ in

(p) Literae de restituenda Ecclesia ad niarum Nicomediae proposita, ut testatur
 Prafidem missae, die quidem Iduum Ju- Lactantius, sed datae fuerant Mediolani
 eodem

in the former part of the year 313. in the month of March, as it seems, by the joynt authority of Constantin and Licinius.

*From the
Year 303.
to 313.*

In the mean time, Maximin, (*q*) who had sided with Maxentius, took this opportunity, whilst Constantin and Licinius were at Milan, and in the depth of winter marched with his armie from Syria into Bithynia, and crossed the Hellespont into Thrace. Licinius left Milan, and went to meet him, and in a pitched battle overcame him near Adrianople on the 30 day of April in the year 313. and pursued him into Bithynia. Maximin fled to mount Taurus, and thence to Tarsus, where he took poyson, and died miserably, about the month of August in the same year, 313.

When Licinius came to Nicomedia, having offered up his thanksgivings to God for the victorie vouchsafed him, “ as (*r*) Caecilius says, “ he set up the forementioned edict in favour of the Christians at “ Nicomedia on the 13. day of June. So that, as the same writer “ says,

eodem anno, Christi 313. circa mensem Martium. ut Constantinus et Licinius in iisdem diserte asserunt. Pagi ann. 314. num. viii.

(*q*) Constantinus rebus in urbe compositis, hyeme proxima, Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius advenit, ut acciperet uxorem. Maximinus, ubi eos intellexit nuptiarum solemnibus occupatos, exercitum movit e Syria, hyeme quam maxime saeviente, et mansionibus geminatis, in Bithyniam concurrit debilitato agmine. &c. *De M. P. cap. 45. Vid. et cap. 46. 47.*

(*r*) Tum cap. 48. *Licinius vero accepta exercitus parte ac distributa, trajecit exercitum in Bithyniam paucis post pugnam diebus: et Nicomediam ingressus, gratiam Deo, cuius auxilio vicerat, retulit, ac die Iduum Juniarum Constantino atque ipso ter Consu-*

libus (anno nempe Christi 313.) de restituenda Ecclesia hujusmodi literas ad Praesidem datas proponi jussit. Tum literas refert, quas Eusebius lib. 10. cap. v. describit e lingua Latina, quâ primum editae sunt, ut ipsemet docet. Postea Lactantius. [al. Caecilius.] ait: His literis propositis, etiam verbo hortatus est (nempe Licinius) ut conventicula in statum pristinum redderentur. Sic ab eversa Ecclesia (a die sc. xxiii. Februarii anni 303.) usque ad restitutam (usque ad diem videlicet, xiii. mensis Junii anni 313.) qua propositum est Nicomediae edictum de restaurandis ecclesiis,) fuerunt anni decem, plus minus quatuor: nempe menses tres, dies novemdecim. Ideoque pax universae Ecclesiae anno tantum cccxiii. reddita. Pagi ann. 314. num. vi.

From the
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to 313.

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“ dy, to which they appertain, without any subterfuge or delay: upon
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peret uxorem. Maximinus, ubi eos intel-
lexit nuptiarum solemnibus occupatos, ex-
ercitum movit e Syria, hyeme quam max-
ime faeviente, et mansionibus geminatis,
in Bithyniam concurrit debilitato agmine.
&c. *De M. P. cap. 45. Vid. et cap. 46. 47.*

(*r*) Tum cap. 48. *Licinius vero accepta exercitus parte ac distributa, trajecit exerci-
tum in Bithyniam paucis post pugnam diebus:
et Nicomediam ingressus, gratiam Deo, cu-
jus auxilio vicerat, retulit, ac die Iduum
Juniarum Constantino atque ipso ter Consu-*

*libus (anno nempe Christi 313.) de restitu-
enda Ecclesia hujusmodi literas ad Praesidem
datas proponi jussit. Tum literas refert,
quas Eusebius lib. 10. cap. v. describit e
lingua Latina, quâ primum editae sunt, ut
ipse docet. Postea Lactantius. [al. Cae-
cilius.] ait: His literis propositis, etiam
verbo hortatus est (nempe Licinius) ut con-
venticula in statum pristinum redderentur.
Sic ab eversa Ecclesia (a die sc. xxiii. Fe-
bruarii anni 303.) usque ad restitutam (us-
que ad diem videlicet, xiii. mensis Junii
anni 313.) qua propositum est Nicomediae
edictum de restaurandis ecclesiis,) fuerunt
anni decem, plus minus quatuor: nempe
menses tres, dies novemdecim. Ideoque
pax universae Ecclesiae anno tantum
cccxiii. reddita. Pagi ann. 314. num.
vi.*

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“ says, from the time of the edict, which proclaimed the persecution, to the restoring of peace to the churches was the space of ten years and about four months:” or in other words, from the 23. day of Feb. in the year 303. to the 13. day of the month of June, in 313. was the space of ten years, three months, and nineteen days.

In the first edict, published by Constantin and Licinius, there were some defects or faults, which were supplied, or corrected and rectified in the second edict. What those faults or defects were, cannot be perceived with certainty, as the expressions in this new edict, relating to that matter, are obscure. Various things have been proposed by learned men, (s) in the way of conjecture. But I do not think it needfull to take particular notice of them here.

It is however manifest, that this second edict is full and comprehensive, giving liberty to all men to worship God, according to the best of their own judgement, and in the way, that each one should choose. At the same time, as I apprehend, there is special regard had to Christians. And the places of worship, of which they had been deprived, are restored to them, and likewise some other possessions which belonged to their religious societies, in a body.

Maxi-
min's E-
dict in Fa-
vour of
the Chri-
stians.

XI. Maximin, after his arrival at Tarsus, beside the shame and disappointment of his defeat by Licinius, was afflicted with a grievous distemper, and violent pains, described at large, by (t) Caecilius,

(s) *Vales. in Euseb. loc. Basnag. ann. 313. num. xi. xii. Moshem. de Reb. Christianorum, p. 973. &c.*

(t) . . . Tarsum postremo confugit. Ibi cum jam terra marique perterreretur, non ullum speraret refugium, angore animi ac metu confugit ad mortem, quasi ad remedium malorum, quae Deus in caput suum coniecit. Sed prius cibo se inferat,

ac vino ingurgitavit . . et sic hausit venenum. . . . Deinde post multos gravesque cruciatus, cum caput suum parietibus infligeret, exilierunt oculi ejus de cavernis. Tunc demum, amisso visu, Deum videre coepit candidatis ministris se judicantem. Exclamabat ergo sicut ii, qui torqueri solent, et non se, sed alios fecisse dicebat. Deinde, quasi tormentis adactus fatebatur,

us, who also says, that now Maximin confessed his fault, and implored the forgiveness of Christ, and relief from him under his distemper. Soon after which he expired.

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Eusebius says, that after the forementioned defeat, Maximin “ gave
“ (u) glorie to the God of the Christians, and enacted a full and
“ compleat law for their liberty. And then being struck with a
“ mortal distemper, he expired, no longer respite being granted to
“ him. The law issued by him is to this purpose.”

“ The Copie of the Edict of Maximin in favour of the Christi-
“ ans, translated out of the Roman into the Greek language.”

“ The (x) Emperour Cesar Caius Valerius Maximinus Germanicus
“ Sarmaticus Pius Happy Invincible Augustus. It is notorious to all,
“ that by all means, and at all times, we have consulted the welfare
“ of our subjects in the provinces, and have endeavored to procure for
“ them what might be most for the good and benefit of the publick in
“ general, and for the comfort and satisfaction of every one in parti-
“ cular. And we trust that all, who shall look back upon our past pro-
“ ceedings and administration of affairs, will be convinced in their own
“ minds of this. For when formerly, it came to our knowledge, that
“ upon occasion of the law enacted by our deified fathers, Diocletian
“ and Maximian, which forbid the assemblies of Christians, many in-
“ juries and extortions have been committed by the officers, and that
“ these mischiefs encreased among our people, and the goods and estates
“ of our subjects were wasted, for whose welfare we are always ear-
“ nestly concerned: we (y) the last year sent letters to the Governours
“ of

tur, Christum subinde deprecans, et plo-
rans, ut suimet misereretur sic inter gemi-
tus, quos tamquam cremaretur, edebat,
nocentem spiritum detestabili genere mor-
tis efflavit. *De M. P. cap. 49.*

(u) Ἐπειτα δὴ δὲς δόξαν τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν
θεῷ, νόμον τε τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν τελε-

ώτατα καὶ πληρέστατα διαταξάμενος, δυσθανα-
τήσας αὐτίκα, μὴ δὲ μιᾶς αὐτῷ χρόνῳ δο-
θείσης προθεσμίας, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. *H. E.*
l. 9. cap. x. p. 363. D.

(x) *Ap. Euseb. ib. p. 363. 364.*

(y) Upon this place Valesius rightly ob-
serves: “ He intends his epistle sent to Sa-
“ binus,

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“ of every province, by which it was enacted, that if any one would ad-
“ here to such custom, and the observance of their own religion, he
“ should be at liberty to follow his own judgement and inclination, with-
“ out obstruction or hindrance from any man: and that they should be
“ permitted freely to do, without fear or distrust, whatever in this
“ matter they approved of. Nevertheless at the same time, it could
“ not be concealed from our knowledge, that some of the Judges have
“ misunderstood our orders, and have endeavored to make our people dis-
“ trust the sincerity of our intentions, and have made them afraid to
“ perform the worship agreeable to them. Wherefore, that for the time
“ to come, all fear, and suspicion of ambiguity may be removed, we
“ have ordered this edict to be published, that it may be known to all,
“ that by this our grant, it is lawfull for those who choose this religion
“ and worship, to act therein as they see best, and to perform worship
“ in the way, to which they have been accustomed. And it is granted
“ to them, that they may repair their dominical houses. And that our
“ beneficence may be the more conspicuous, we have thought fit farther
“ to enact, that if any buildings or lands, aforetime belonging to the
“ Christians, have by virtue of the edict of our Fathers been confiscated,
“ and brought into our treasury, or have been seised and occupied by
“ any city, or have been sold, or given in grant to any: we have or-
“ dered, that all these should be returned to the former right and pos-
“ session of the Christians: that all men may be fully persuaded of our
“ piety and provident concern in this matter.”

Eusebius said, as quoted above, that now Maximin gave full and compleat liberty to the Christians. And, indeed, this edict, so far as it relates to the Christians, is conformable to the edict of Constantine and Licinius, before exhibited.

I have

“ binus, Prefect of the Praetorium, which
“ Eusebius had alleged before. Maximin
“ here says, he had writ that letter in the
“ preceding year, meaning the year of Christ

“ 312. It follows therefore, that this last
“ edict of Maximin was writ in the year
“ of Christ 313.” And see Pagi ann. 314.
num. viii.

I have nothing farther to add here, but that (z) according to the computation of learned critics, Maximin died, as already hinted, in the month of August, in the year 313. From the Year 303. to 313.

XII. I have now recited at length all the edicts concerning the persecution of Diocletian. Two ancient Inscriptions.

There are two Inscriptions in (a) Gruter, relating to it, in which it is intimated, that in the times of *Diocletian*, and *Maximian Herculus*, and *Galerius*, the name of the Christians, who had overthrown the Republick, was extirpated. And again, that the Superstition of the Christians was every where extirpated, and the Worship of the Gods restored.

I shall put down those two Inscriptions at length, in the Latin original. They are said to have been found in Spain, at a place called *Clunia*, which (b) was a Roman Colonie.

Cluniae

(z) Baluzius recte in Notis observat, non statim mortuum esse Maximinum ac Tarsum pervenit, sed aliquanto tempore gravissimos dolores sustinuisse, sicque non videri, eum ante mensem Augustum periisse. Vide quae ibidem sequuntur. Pagi ann. 314. num. viii.

Il mourut, vers le mois d' Aoust à Tarse dans Cilicie. Tillem. Persecution de Diocletien art. 48. Mem. E. T. v. p. 117. Paris.

(a) Ap. Gruter. p. 280.

(b) Vide Cellarii Geogr. Antiq. l. 2. cap. i.

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Cluniae in Hisp. in pulchra columna.

DIOCLETIANUS. JOVIUS. ET
MAXIMIAN. HERCULIUS
CAES. AUGG
AMPLIFICATO. PER. ORIEN
TEM. ET OCCIDENTEM
IMP. ROM
ET

NOMINE. CHRISTIANORUM
DELETO. QUI. REMP. EVER
TEBANT.

Cluniae Hisp.

DIOCLETIAN. CAES.
AUG. GALERIO. IN ORI
ENTE. ADOPT. SUPER
STITIONE. CHRIST. —
UBIQUE. DELETA. ET CUL
TU. DEOR. PROPAGATO

XIII. I think it may not be improper to add some concluding observations upon this persecution. Mr. Mosheim will furnish me with some. After which I may subjoyn others of my own.

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Year 303.
to 313.
Conclud-
ing Obser-
vations.

Obs. 1. This (c) persecution might as properly, or more properly be called *Maximian's* as *Diocletian's*. It is evident from (d) Caecilius, and from (e) Eusebius, that Maximian Galerius was the first mover in this design. He seems to own as much himself, at (f) the beginning of the edict published by him in favour of the Christians, a short time before his death. Caecilius, in his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, has largely related, how (g) Galerius urged Diocletian to it : who (b) for some while objected to it, alleging the great disturbances, which it might occasion in the Empire. And it is allowed, that the persecution did not begin till the 19. year of Diocletian's reign, before which time many Christians were admitted to posts of honour, near the Emperour's person, and in the provinces. Moreover, in the third year of the persecution, Diocletian re-

T t 2

signed,

(c) Quae a Diocletiano nomen habet decennis, et omnium atrocissima Christianorum vexatio, rectius Maximiana vocanda esset. Etsi enim Diocletianus, fraudibus sacerdotum deceptus, injuriarum aliquid Christianis in aula degentibus, et castra sequentibus, intulit, leges etiam deinde in eos rogavit: certum tamen est, praecipuum hujus calamitatis auctorem, generum ejus, Maximianum Galerium fuisse. *De Reb. Christian. p. 916.*

(d) *De M. P. cap. 10. 11. 12.*

(e) *H. E. l. 8. cap. 16. p. 314. D.*

(f) *Vid. De M. P. cap. 34. in. Euseb. H. E. l. 8. cap. 17. p. 316.*

(g) Deinde, interjecto aliquanto tem-

pore, in Bithyniam venit hyematum: [Diocletianus] eodemque tempore Maximianus quoque Caesar inflammatus scelere advenit, ut ad persequendos Christianos instigaret senem vanum, qui jam principum fecerat. *De M. P. cap. x.*

(b) Ergo habito inter se per totam hyemem consilio, cum nemo admitteretur . . . diu senex furori ejus repugnavit, ostendens, quam perniciosum esset inquietari orbem terrae, fundi sanguinem multorum: illos libenter mori solere: satis esse, si palatinos tantum et milites ab ea religione prohiberet. Nec tamen deflectere potuit praecipitis hominis insaniam. *Ibid. cap. xi.*

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signed, and concerned himself no longer in the affairs of the Empire. However, it must be acknowledged, that he joyned and concurred in the several edicts against the Christians, which were published in the first two years of the persecution. Nor (*b*) do we aim to acquit him of all guilt in this affair: but only to mitigate the reflexions, which have been cast upon him both in former and later times. Diocletian was timorous, and superstitious: But it does not appear, that he delighted in cruelty.

Obs. 2. In the first edict for the persecution, as we learn from (*i*) Eusebius, the sacred Scriptures were ordered to be burnt. And, so far as we know, this is the first Imperial edict of that kind. Mr. Mosheim suspects, that (*k*) Hierocles, or some other learned men, were the contrivers of this malignant order, and suggested it to the Emperours. Mr. Mosheim is also of opinion, that (*l*) ecclesiastical historie has greatly suffered by it. The precept in the edict might speak only of *sacred books*, or *scriptures*. But the officers, employed in

(*b*) Quocirca multum, meo quidem judicio, de contumeliis et querimoniis detrahi potest, quibus et veteres et recentiores Imperatorem hunc obruunt. Peccabat, fateor, levitate, superstitione, timiditate: at multo tamen, quam vulgaris opinio fert, tolerabilius peccabat. *Mosheim. ubi supr. p. 922. M.*

(*i*) *H. E. l. 8. cap. ii. p. 294. B.*

(*k*) Non dubito vero, malignam hanc voluntatem libros Christianorum delendi, Hieroclem, de quo diximus, Augustis injecisse. Certe, non hominum rudium, et rei Christianae ignarorum, quales Maximianus, ejusque focer erant, sed eruditum, et sacri codicis peritum, qui quid illis traderetur, et quantam vim haberent ad Christianorum animos contra

deorum cultum et superstitionem munientes ex lectione eorum ipsi percepissent. *Id. ib. p. 925.*

(*l*) Ex Actis purificationis Felicis apud Baluzium Miscell. Tom. 2. p. 84. constat, *epistolas* etiam *salutatorias*, quas episcopi mutuo sibi variis de rebus scribebant, combustas esse. Nam hae in tabulariis etiam templorum reponi solebant. Hinc incredibilem Historia Christiana jacturam in hoc bello Diocletiano fecit. Nam ex primis Christianorum temporibus quae supererant documenta, chartae, epistolae, leges, Acta Martyrum et Conciliorum, ex quibus antiqua Christianae civitatis historia egregie illustrari potuisset, omnia in his turbis, plurima saltem, perierunt. *Id. ib. p. 924. 925.*

in the execution, when they searched for sacred books, would lay hold of any writings, which they found in the places of Christian worship, or in the habitations of Bishops, or other Christians. The copies of the sacred books of the Old and the New Testament were now so numerous, that they could not be all found, and destroyed. But of some *Acts of Martyrs, Registers of church-affairs, Epistles of Bishops to each other*, there might be few copies only, or perhaps one alone. If such papers were seized, and thrown into the flames, they were irrecoverably lost.

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Those observations are from Mr. Mosheim. I shall now add two or three others.

Observ. 3. Diocletian's persecution was very grievous. Indeed, it was the longest, and the worst, that the Christians had ever endured. This may appear from the particulars alleged above from Eusebius, though my accounts have been designedly brief, and therefore defective. Sulpicius Severus, as may be remembered, said: *Never was the world more wasted by any war.* That observation is verified by the eighth and ninth books of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical Historie, together with his book of the Martyrs of Palestine: containing the authentic accounts of a learned and eminent man, who was a contemporarie, and an eye-witnesse of many of the cruelties related by him. I say, that observation may be verified by those authentic histories, without having recourse to spurious Acts of Martyrs, or any other legendarie writings.

Sulpicius Severus adds: *Nor ever had we a greater victorie, than when we were not overcome by the slaughters of ten years.* Another true and just observation! For the patience and fortitude of the Christians of that time were invincible and admirable. Some of all orders, Pastors of churches, and others, were presently terrified, and fell away. But many were faithful to the death. They patiently endured calumnies, stripes, imprisonments, maiming of members, exquisite

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exquisite tortures, of every kind, and still persevered. And though many were taken off by cruel deaths of every kind, the number of the faithfull was not diminished, but encreased and multiplied under that heavie weight of afflictions.

Rev. ii.
10. xii.
11.

Obs. 4. The revolution made in the Roman Empire, in favour of the Christians, upon the conversion of Constantin, was a gracious dispensation of divine Providence. It put an end to scenes of cruelty, which are shocking to think of, and were disgracefull to human nature. The professors of the religion of Jesus had now endured many severe trials, and had approved their zeal and fidelity under them. They had been tried, and were *found faithfull, and loved not their lives unto the death*. And thereby they had done great and lasting honour to the principles of their religion. Now therefore God appointed them rest from those troubles. *For, as it is said, Ps. cxxv. 3. the rod of the wicked shall not always rest upon the lot of the righteous, lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity.*

Obs. 5. And lastly, the cruelties of Diocletian's and other Heathen persecutions, which had been endured by Christian people, may fill our minds with horror for persecution, and every degree of it.

Never let us be persecutors: never let us encourage, or give countenance to persecution. Never let the cruelties of Heathen persecutions be practised in Christian countreys.

If we would effectually secure ourselves from temptations to persecution; let us take care to derive our religion from the books of the Old and New Testament, without adding other doctrines, not found in them, as important parts of religion. Where transubstantiation, or other like absurdities are taught as articles of religion, there will be persecution. Ancient Gentilism could not stand before the light of the gospel. It was absurd, and could not be maintained by reason and argument. The Christians therefore were continually gaining ground. They drew men off from the temples, from sacrifices,

fices, from the religious solemnities, from public sports and entertainments. This was a provocation to Heathen people, which they could not endure. They had recourse therefore to violence, and tried every possible way to discourage the progreſſe of the Chriſtian Religion. And in the ſpace of about two hundred and fifty years, from the Emperour Nero to Maximin, there were ten, or more, Heathen perſecutions of the Chriſtians: the laſt of which was the longeſt, and the worſt of all. At the end of which Chriſtianity prevailed. But if Gentiliſm had been revived, Heathen perſecutions would have been repeated, and the cruelties of former times would have been practiſed over again, with equal, or, if poſſible, with redoubled rage and violence. The Emperour Julian, when he became a Heathen, though he was a man of wit and learning, and though he dreſſed up his ſcheme of Gentiliſm in as plauſible a form as he was able, to recommend it to the judgements of men, could not help being a perſecutor, like his admired *Mark Antonin*, and many others, his Heathen ancestors and predeceſſors. So it will be always. An abſurd religion cannot maintain itſelf by reaſon and Argument. It needs, and will have recourse to force and violence for it's ſupport. But true religion, which is throughout reaſonable, can relye upon it's own intrinsic excellence, and thoſe testimonials, which God, in his good Providence, has been pleaſed to afford to it, as the proper evidences of it's high original.

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to 313.*

C H A P. XLI.

A Review of the foregoing Period, from the Beginning of the third Centurie to the Conversion of Constantin: With some general Observations upon the State of Christianity under Heathen Emperours.

*A Review
of the fore-
going Pe-
riod.*

I. I HAVE now given an account of the Heathen Writers of the *third* centurie, who have taken notice of the Christians: and I have made large extracts out of them, and transcribed many passages at length. It may be worth the while to recollect here what we have met with.

In *Dion Cassius's* noble work, the Historie of the Romans, published about the year 230. we have seen (*a*) another testimonie to that important event, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people in Judea by *Vespasian* and *Titus*. In him also we have seen (*b*) another testimonie to *Domitian's* persecution of the Christians. From him also we (*c*) learn *Nerva's* favourable regard to them.

In *Amelius*, a Platonic Philosopher, disciple of Plotinus, about the year 263. we have seen a very distinct and honorable testimonie to St. John's (*d*) Gospel.

That

(*a*) In this volume P. 49. . . 52.

(*b*) P. 52. . . 55.

(*c*) P. 56.

(*d*) P. 96.

That eminent critic *Longinus*, about the year 264. in his work of the Sublime, has made very honorable mention of Moses, the Jewish Lawgiver, and commends the stile, in which he represents the creation of the (e) world. There is also a Fragment (f) ascribed to him, where the Apostle Paul is mentioned to advantage.

And we have met with a passage in *Diogenes Laërtius* (g) about the year 210. which gives great light to St. Paul's discourse at Athens, where he put the Athenians in mind of an *Altar* of theirs, *with an inscription to the Unknown God*.

The saying of *Numenius*, *what is Plato, but Moses in Greek?* is well known, and recorded in divers ancient (h) writers. But the time of *Numenius* appears to me uncertain. Nor is it clear, that he has at all referred to the affairs of Christians, or their Scriptures.

The Emperour *Alexander Severus*, whose reign began in the year 222, as we learn from *Lampridius*, (i) one of the Augustan Writers, was favorable both to Jews and Christians, and had a respect for the Lord Jesus Christ. He had two private chappels, one more honourable, than the other. In the first were placed the deified Emperours, and also some eminently good men, and among them *Christ*, and *Abraham*, and *Orpheus*. Some other things of a like kind may be seen in his chapter, which need not to be recollected here. But they are of use to shew, that the Christians were then well known, and that their innocence, or freedom from licentious principles, and great crimes, was manifest. And this Emperour deserves to be commended for his moderation, and for the justnesse of his sentiments.

The Emperour *Philip*, whose reign began in 244. and ended in 249. has been by some supposed to be a Christian. We have examined

(e) P. 105.

(f) P. 105. 106.

(g) P. 20. &c.

(h) P. 108. &c.

(i) P. 34. &c.

mined that question, and now refer our readers to what has been said upon it by divers learned (*k*) men.

The Emperour *Aurelian* reigned from 270. to 275. *Flavius Vopiscus*, one of the Augustan Writers, has preserved a part of a letter, writ by him to the Senate at the begining of his reign, in which the Christians are expressly (*l*) mentioned. Which shews, that the Christians were then well known to the Roman Emperours, and to the Roman Senate, and to all men.

A like observation may be made upon a storie, told by the same writer (*m*) concerning *Heliogabalus*, whose reign began in 218.

In this period were several learned men, who wrote against the Christians, and the Christian Religion. One of whom is (*n*) *Porphyrie*. He was born about the year 233. We have placed him as flourishing in the year 270. He was disciple of the celebrated Plotinus, and was himself a learned man, and a Philosopher of the first rank. He published many books, some of which, are still extant. His work against the Christians consisted of fifteen books, and seems to have been prolix, and carefully studied, and filled with a great deal of learning, and the quotations of divers authors not now extant. Rufinus (*o*) calls him a determined enemy of Christ, and says he did his utmost to overthrow the Christian Religion by his writings. His objections against Christianity were in esteem with Heathen people for a great while, as we learn from Augustin, and others. And his memorie was in abhorrence with Christians, for the

(*k*) *P.* 62. &c.

(*l*) *P.* 115.

(*m*) *P.* 225.

(*n*) See his *Chapter.* p. 121. &c.

(*o*) Si nihil aliud est, vel de Porphyrio filere debuerat, qui specialis hostis Christi est, qui religionem Christianam, quantum in se fuit, penitus subvertere conatus est scriptis suis. *Rufin. in Hieron. Invectiv. lib. 2. ap. Hieron T. 4. p. 418.*

Nam Porphirius tuus, dic quaeso quid te docuit: qui adversum Christianos, et adversum religionem nostram blasphemiae volumina conscripsit? &c. *Ibid. p. 424.*

. . . . ipsum Porphyrium sequendo, qui adversum Christum, et adversus Deum libros impios ac sacrilegos scripsit. *Id. ib. p. 422.*

the bitterneſſe, with which he had oppoſed them. His work was a violent attack upon our Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Teſtament: as we can perceive by the fragments of his work ſtill remaining in Chriſtian Writers, who have quoted him. At the ſame time they are a teſtimonie to them. They bear witneſſe to their antiquity, and to the great eſteem, which they were then in with Chriſtians. And if his work were ſtill exſtant, it might be of farther uſe to us in that reſpect, and upon ſome other accounts. I have made a large collection of the remaining fragments of his work: to which I refer my readers, without adding any more obſervations here. But the work, called *the Philoſophie of Oracles*, (p) which has been quoted by ſome, as his, I take to be a forgerie. And I have aſſigned my reaſons at large for that opinion.

At the begining of Diocletian's perſecution, about the year 303. another (q) publiſhed a work againſt the Chriſtians. We do not know his name. But he likewiſe was by profeſſion a Philoſopher. His work was writ in an inſinuating manner, making fair pretenſes of good will to the Chriſtians, that he might recover them from error, and deliver them from the ſufferings, to which they were expoſed by a worſhip contrarie to the laws. It ſeems to have been a large volume. For it conſiſted of *three books*. Lactantius ſlights it. But this Philoſopher's objections may have been ſufficient to affect many of the common people among the Gentils. And if it were now exſtant, it would be a great curioſity.

About the ſame time another work was writ againſt the Chriſtians by (r) *Hierocles*, a man of learning, and a perſon of authority and influence, as he was a magiſtrate. It was in two books. Nor did he take upon him the character of an enemy to the Chriſtians. He aimed rather to be eſteemed a kind and friendly counſellour and adviſer. He was well acquainted with our Scriptures, and made many objections againſt them: thereby bearing teſtimonie to their

U u 2

an-

(p) P. 193. &c.

(q) P. 230. &c.

(r) P. 233. &c.

antiquity, and to the great respect, which was shewn to them by the Christians. For he has referred to both parts of the New Testament, the Gospels and the Epistles.

And by Diocletian's edict the Christian Scriptures were ordered to be burnt, when their temples were demolished. It was the first order of the kind. It shews, that our Scriptures were then well known, and that the Gentil people were sensible of their importance. Whether Hierocles was the adviser of that order, we cannot say.

He did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles. But in order to weaken the argument, which the Christians formed from them, in proof of our Saviour's divine authority and mission, he set up *Apollonius Tyanaeus*, as a rival, or superior to him. But it was a vain effort. We still have the Life of Apollonius, which Hierocles made use of writ by Philostratus. We are therefore able to pass a judgement upon his argument. And we can discern it to be very weak. For the works there ascribed to Apollonius, are not equal to our Saviour's miracles, nor comparable with them. Nor are the things ascribed to Apollonius writ in a credible manner. And moreover, the historie of him, which Hierocles made use of, was not writ till more than a hundred years after his death.

By Lactantius, we are informed, that (s) the famous Lawyer, *Domitius Ulpianus*, about the year 222. in his book of the Duty of a Proconsul, made a collection of all the edicts of former Emperours against the Christians.

And we have now in this volume seen an account of all the persecutions endured by the Christians, from the year of our Lord 202. when the Emperour *Severus* published his edict against the Christians, to the year 312. or 313. when Constantin and Licinius put an end to the persecution began by *Diocletian*.

The

(s) P. 40. &c.

The progresse of the Christian Religion, in this period, is abundantly attested. Every thing bears witness to it. Porphyrie says, that (t) *there were many Christians and others, who censured Plato, against whom Plotinus [about the year 260. and before] often argued in his disputations, and also wrote a little book, which was entitled against the Gnostics.* Porphyrie complained also, that (u) *since Jesus had been honoured, none had received any public benefit from the gods.* I presume, it could not be a very small number of Christians, in some obscure place, which so disgusted the gods, as to induce them to withhold their gracious influences from the whole Roman Empire. From his reflexions upon Origen, (x) who, as he says, *had many admirers and followers,* it appears, that the Christians were then a numerous body of men.

If the number of the professors of the Christian Religion had not been encreased and multiplied, there would have been no persecutions, nor any adversarie-writers. Those learned men and Philosophers would have spared the labour of composing voluminous works against the Christian Religion, if it had few or no votaries. Persecutions likewise bear witness to the growing number of the Christians. Says the Author of the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, near the beginning of his work. "In (y) the time of Nero Peter came to Rome, and having wrought divers miracles by the power of God, he converted many to righteousness. Nero being in-

(t) See still in this volume. p. 191.

(u) As above, p. 184.

(x) As above, p. 130. &c.

(y) Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibusdam miraculis, quae virtute ipsius Dei, data sibi ab eo potestate faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Qua re ad Neronem delata, cum animadverteret, non modo

Romae, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam, damnata vetustate, transire, ut erat execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, profilivit ad excidendum coeleste templum, delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. &c. *De Mortib. Persec. cap. ii.*

“ informed of this, and hearing likewise, that not only at Rome,
 “ but every where else, many forsook the worship of idols, and
 “ flighting antiquity, went over to the new religion, he resolved to
 “ extirpate that doctrine, and was the first who persecuted the ser-
 “ vants of God. At which time by his order Peter was crucified,
 “ and Paul beheaded.”

Sulpicius Severus has expressed himself much after the same man-
 ner. I shall place a part of what he says below, (z) without tran-
 slating him.

And *Maximin*, one of the last persecuting Emperours, in his let-
 ter to *Sabinus*, above (*) quoted, speaks to this purpose. “ *It is, I*
am persuaded, well known to yourself and to all men, how that our
Lords and Fathers, Diocletian and Maximian, when they saw, that
almost all mankind were forsaking the worship of the Gods, and going
over to the sect of the Christians, did wisely ordain, that all men, who
had forsaken the worship of their immortal Gods, should be brought back
to the worship of the Gods by public pains and penalties. Where the
 great encrease of men professing Christianity is expressly assigned
 as the reason of inflicting pains and penalties upon them at that
 time: *that they might be brought back to the old religion.* And what
 is here so clearly owned, must be supposed to have always been the
 real occasion of those violent methods, which had been so often made
 use of to check the encrease of the number of Christians, and to
 root them out, if possible, and all traces and footsteps of their reli-
 gion. And the several edicts of all the persecuting Emperours are
 proofs, that the Christian Religion was continually making progresse,
 and gaining ground.

Let

(z) Interea, abundante jam Christia-
 norum multitudine accidit, ut Roma in-
 cendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Anti-
 um constituto. . . . Hoc initio in Christia-
 nos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam datis le-
 gibus religio vetabatur: palamque edic-

tis propositis Christianum esse non licebat.
 Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati:
 quorum uni cervix gladio defecta, Petrus
 in crucem sublatuſ est. *Sulp. Sever. l. 2.*
cap. 29.

(*) See p. 310.

Let this suffice for a review of the argument of this volume.

II. I now proceed to make some observations upon the state of Christianity under Heathen Emperours. And they shall be these three.

*The State
of Chri-
stianity
under
Heathen
Empe-
rours.*

It was all along in a state of persecution.

Nevertheless it prevailed greatly.

Which is honorable to the Religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.

I. *Christianity, from the time of it's first appearance in the world, was all along in a state of persecution, till the conversion of Constantin.*

I forbear to shew here, how it was opposed and persecuted after the resurrection of Jesus by the *Jewish* rulers at Jerusalem, and in Judea, and then by *Herod Agrippa*, when King of Israel, and afterwards by other Jews in Judea, and out of it. Upon these things I do not now insist, which may be seen in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of the New Testament, and also in the second chapter of the first volume of this work, where was shewn *the treatment given to the first Christians by the unbelieving Jews*. I am now only to consider the state of Christianity in Gentil countreys, and under Heathen Emperours, from the time that it began to be preached among the Gentils, and to make some progresse among them, from about the midle of the first centurie to the end of this period, when Constantin embraced the Christian Religion, and by edicts gave leave to Christians to worship God according to their own judgement and conviction.

St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, has taken notice of some difficulties, which St. Paul met with in preaching the gospel in Gen-
til

til cities: particularly at Lystra in Lycaonia ch. xiv. 19. 20. at Philippi ch. xvi. 19. . . 20. St. Paul himself speaks of some of his sufferings 2 Cor. xi. 23. . . 26. particularly at 25. *thrice was I beaten with rods*: meaning, as I suppose, by Roman Magistrates: though St. Luke has mentioned one instance only, which was at Philippi, as just mentioned: when both Paul and Silas underwent that hard usage. But there were no Imperial edicts issued against the Christians, before that of *Nero*, in the year of Christ 64. or 65. At which time the two Apostles, Peter and Paul, were put to death.

It has now of a long time been a prevailing opinion, that Christians suffered ten persecutions under Heathen Emperours. Nevertheless there have been some exceptions made to this opinion by a learned writer, who is deservedly in great repute. "If (a) you speak, he says, of heavie persecutions, that prevailed every where, there were not so many, if of lesser troubles, there were more than ten. The number of ten general persecutions is no more than

(a) Numeramus a multis jam seculis decem ejusmodi persecutiones. Verum non suffragatur huic numero vetus rerum Christianarum historia. Si graviores intelligas persecutiones, et per universum orbem Romanum pertinentes, pauciores sunt, quam decem: si minores, et provinciales, multo plures, quam decem. Auctores hujus numeri non eum in historia invenerunt, sed historiam ad partes quasdam sacri codicis accommodarunt, quibus persecutiones Christianorum praedictas esse opinabantur. . . . Perantiqua est, et a quinto seculo ad nos ducta sententia, de decem Christianorum sub Imperatoribus a Christo averfis persecutionibus. Quam ego tamen omnes veri amantes popularibus et fundamento destitu-

tis erroribus, meo periculo adscribere jubeo. Auctores ejus ignoti sunt. Hoc vero certum est, eos hanc sententiam non ab historia traditam accepisse, sed parum felicibus auspiciis ex divinis libris eruisse, atque historiae reluctanti obtruisse. Quarto post natum servatorem seculo numerus persecutionum Christianarum nondum definitus erat. Lactantius libello de Mortibus Persecutorum sex tantum memorat. Eusebius, in Historia Ecclesiastica, mala quae Christianis evenerant, recenset, numerum malorum non addit. At novem tamen ex eo Christianorum calamitates colligi quodammodo possunt. Tandem seculo quinto Sulpicius Severus commemorat. *Moshem. de Reb. Christianor. p. 97. 98.*

“ than a popular errour, which arose in the fifth centurie, destitute
 “ of good foundation in historie, and founded in a fanfifull inter-
 “ pretation of some texts of the Old Testament, where the Christian
 “ persecutions have been thought to be foretold. Lactantius, in his
 “ book of the Deaths of Persecutors, makes but fix persecutions.
 “ Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie does not number the perse-
 “ cutions, though nine persecutions may be made out from it. Up-
 “ on the whole, the notion of ten Heathen Persecutions had it's rise
 “ in the fifth centurie.”

Upon all which I must say, that in the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, whether (*b*) writ by Lactantius, or another, we cannot expect to see an account of all the persecutions, which Christians had suffered in former times. His book is entituled *of the Deaths of Persecutors*. His design therefore is to speak of such persecutors only, as came to an untimely end. Accordingly he writes of the persecution of *Nero, Domitian, Decius, Valerian, and Aurelian*, who suffered a violent death. Of their persecutions he gives a brief account in the first chapters of his book. And then he proceeds to *Diocletian's* persecution, upon which he enlargeth. Here he computes four several persecutors: *Diocletian, Maximian Hercules, Maximian Galerius, and Maximin*. And according to his account, *Diocletian* (*c*) met with great misfortunes, *Maximian* (*d*) was strangled by order of Constantin for base treacherie, and an attempt upon his life. *Galerius* (*e*) and *Maximin* (*f*) died miserably, by grievous distempers, supposed to have been inflicted upon them by way of judgement from heaven, for their inhumanity to the Christians. That is the design and substance of that book. And from it no argument can

(*b*) That Lactantius is not the author of that little book, was shewn Credib. P. 2. ch. lxxv. vol. viii. p. 89. &c.

(*c*) *De Mort. Persecut. cap. xxvi.*

(*d*) *Ibid. cap. xxx.*

(*e*) *Cap. xxxiii. . . . xxxv.*

(*f*) *Cap. xlix.*

can be formed for determining the number of persecutions, which Christians endured from Heathen Emperours.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical Historie does not number the great afflictions, which the Christians had endured. But he has mentioned *eleven* persecutors, though the persecutions of some of them may have been of but short duration. The persecutors mentioned by Eusebius, are these: *Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Mark Antonin, Severus, (g) Maximin* the first, or the Thracian, *Decius, (b) Gallus, (i) Valerian, (k) Aurelian, Diocletian*, and his colleagues.

The several persecutions of Heathen Emperours, did not come to an end before the begining of the fourth centurie. They could not be numbered, till they were all over. Orosius *(l)* counts ten persecutions, and expressly calls Diocletian's the tenth and last. Augustin likewise reckons ten Heathen persecutions. He numbers them in this manner: *(m)* the first Nero's, the second Domitian's, the third Trajan's, the fourth Mark Antonin's, the fifth Severus's, the sixth Maximin's, the seventh Decius's, the eighth Valerian's, the ninth Aurelian's, the tenth Diocletian's. These two learned writers lived partly in the fourth, and partly in the fifth centurie. And it may be thence argued, that this way of computing was in use before the end of the fourth centurie. And indeed, we can prove it. Jerome's book of Illustrious Men, or Ecclesiastical Writers, was published in the year 392. And he there sometimes numbers the persecutions. In the chapter of St. John he calls *(n) Domitian's* the second

(g) *H. E. l. 6. cap. 28.*

(b) *l. 7. cap. i.*

(i) *l. 7. cap. 10.*

(k) *l. 7. cap. 30. p. 283. B.*

(l) Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculeus in occidente vastari ecclesias, affligi interficique Christianos, decimo post Neronem loco praeceperunt, quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit. &c. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 25. Vid. et cap. 27.*

(m) Primum quippe computant a Nerone quae facta est, secundum a Domitiano, a Trajano tertiam, quartam ab Antonino, a Severo quintam, sextam a Maximino, a Decio septimam, octavam a Valeriano, ab Aureliano nonam, decimam a Diocletiano et Maximiano. *De Civ. Dei. l. 18. cap. lii.*

(n) *D. V. l. cap. 9.*

second persecution. In the chapter of Ignatius (*o*) he expressly mentions *Trajan's* persecution though without numbring it. In the chapter of Polycarp (*p*) he says, he suffered in the time of the fourth persecution, under *Mark Antonin*. He expressly calls *Decius's* (*q*) the seventh. And Cyprian's martyrdom he placeth (*r*) in the eighth persecution, in the time of *Valerian and Gallien*. And in his Latin edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius, are ten persecutions, all expressly mentioned, and numbred, as in Augustin's.

There may have been some affectation in numbring the persecutions. Orosius (*s*) and some others, have found out a way to compare the ten persecutions of the Christians with the ten plagues of Egypt, which is trifling. But the number of persecutions has a foundation in historie, as we have seen in the several chapters of this, and the preceding volume. Some may compute nine, others ten, or eleven. But *ten* was a round number, and has generally prevailed. I think, there were eleven. It seems to me, that there is good ground to say so from Eusebius's Ecclesiastical Historie.

The primitive Christians, I think, called those troubles *persecutions*, which were ordered by edicts of Emperours. Sulpicius Severus having given an account of Nero's cruelty toward the Christians at Rome, under a pretense, that the city had been set on fire by them, adds: *That (t) was the begining of the cruel proceedings against*

X x 2

the

(*o*) *De V. I. cap. 16.*

(*p*) Postea vero, regnante Marco Antonino. et L. Aurelio Commodus, quarta post Neronem persecutione, Smyrnae, sedente Proconsule, et universo populo in Amphitheatro adversus eum personante igni traditus est. *Ib. cap. 17.*

(*q*) Septima autem persecutione sub Decio, quo tempore Babylas Antiochiae passus est, Alexander ductus Caesaream, et clausus in carcere, ob confessionem

Christi, martyrio coronatur. *Ib. cap. 62.*

(*r*) Passus sub Valeriano et Gallieno principibus, persecutione octava. *Ib. cap. 67.*

(*s*) *Oros. l. 7. cap. 27.*

(*t*) Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. *Sul. Sever. l. 2. cap. 29. Cleric.*

the Christians. Afterwards the Christian Religion was forbid by laws: and by public edicts it was declared, that no man might be a Christian. Of such edicts, or rescripts, there were ten, or eleven. And I suppose, that all persecutions ordered by Imperial edicts were general. They were intended for the whole Roman Empire, subject to their government. But, possibly, they did not all actually reach to every part of the Empire. The edict of *Maximin the Thracian* (u) is said to have been *against the Clergie only*, and his is sometimes called a local persecution. Nevertheless, I think, it must have been general, and intended against the Clergie every where. There is this proof of it: that *Ambrose* and *Protoctetus* were then imprisoned. This last was Presbyter at Cesarea in Palestine. And Ambrose is supposed to have been Deacon in that, or some other church not far off. And Orosius says, that this persecution was particularly intended against the Presbyter *Origen*. But all those eminent Christians lived in Syria, at a great distance from the capital of the Empire. The edict therefore may have been intended against the Clergie every where.

I apprehend I need not say any thing more here, nor make any recapitulation of what we have seen. But I would refer my readers to the accounts of the Heathen persecutions, which have been given in this and the preceding volumes. Which, I hope, I may say, are authentic, and will be allowed to be so. And we have seen genuine copies of divers of the Imperial edicts, which were sent by them to the Proconsuls, or other Governours of provinces.

But it may be said, that all these *ten persecutions* will not prove, that Christians were all along in a state of persecution, till the conversion of Constantin. For the lives of some of those persecuting Emperours were short, and when they were dead, their edicts were little regarded. And then peace might be restored to the churches.

Un-

(u) See in this volume. ch. 28. p. 59. . . 61.

Undoubtedly, there is some truth in what is here alleged. Therefore I shall add some farther observations for clearing up this point, and for shewing, that they might still be in a state of persecution.

For Trajan's edict was never abrogated, but was still in being. And thereby the Presidents were required to pronounce sentence of death upon all who were brought before them, and accused of Christianity, unless they denied themselves to be Christians, and made out the truth of what they said. And many might be accused by the spitefull and ignorant vulgar, as well as by other malicious people.

And some Judges, or Governours of provinces might act without law, or contrarie to it, as Pliny (x) had done. According to the edict of Trajan, Christians were *not to be sought for*. But the President at Lyons, in the time of Mark Antonin, (y) *issued out public orders, that strict searches should be made for them*. And it is manifest, that many Christians suffered in the time of Adrian, and Titus Antonin, though there were then no laws against them, except the edict of Trajan: and though there were some laws in their favour, particularly the (z) *Rescript of Adrian to Minucius Fundanus, Proconsul of Asia*, which was also to be a rule to other Governours of provinces, and the (a) *Letter of Titus Antonin to the states of Asia*, and other (b) letters to the *Larisseans, the Theffalonians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks*.

We may do well to recollect here the historie of *Apollonius*, a Roman Senator, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of *Commodus*, in the year of our Lord 186. or 187. or thereabout: of which I gave some

(x) See Vol. 2. p. 28. 29. 48. 50.

(y) Ibid. p. 215.

(z) See Vol. 2. p. 109. . . 112.

(a) Ib. p. 155.

(b) p. 157.

some account (c) formerly, but shall now transcribe more distinctly that chapter of Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical Historie. Where, after having given an account of the sufferings of Christians in the reign of Mark Antonin, and then of the works of Irenaeus, and some other Christian writers, he says: "At (d) that time, in the
 " reign of *Commodus*, there was a happy change in our affairs, and
 " by the divine favour the churches enjoyed peace and tranquillity
 " throughout the whole world. And by the same word of the
 " gospel, many of all ranks were converted to the worship of the
 " God of the universe: so that at Rome itself many who were e-
 " minent for their riches, and for their descent, did with their
 " whole families, and their kindred, embrace the way of salva-
 " tion. But that was a thing not to be born by the evil demon,
 " envious of the happineſſe of men, and an enemy to all goodneſſe.
 " He therefore arms himself again, and ſets his instruments to work
 " againſt us. And he brings before the judgement-seat *Apollonius*,
 " one of the faithfull, a man celebrated for learning and philoſo-
 " phie. A wicked wretch, one of his miniſters, well fitted for
 " ſuch a purpoſe, is ſtirred up to accuſe him. But that miſerable
 " man, having brought his accuſation unſeaſonably, when there
 " was an Imperial edict (e) appointing capital puniſhment for ſuch
 " things, had his legs broke, and was put to death by order of
 " Perennis the Judge. And the admirable man (f) the Martyr, of
 " whom I am ſpeaking, being deſired by the Judge to give an ac-
 " count of himſelf to the Senate, complied, and delivered an ele-
 " gant apologie for the faith, for which he ſuffered, before the Se-
 " nate. And then, as by decree of the Senate, was condemned to
 " die: there being, as it ſeems, an ancient law, that if any Chri-
 " ſtian were accuſed in a court of juſtice, he ſhould be puniſh-
 " ed, unleſs he denied himſelf to be a Chriſtian." Eusebius then
 adds,

(c) See *Credib. P.* 2. ch. 28. p. 681. . .
 683.

(d) *Euseb. H. E.* l. 5. cap. 21. p. 189.

(e) See *Vol.* 2. p. 156.

(f) Ὁ δὲ γε θεοφιλέστατος μάρτυς. . .

adds, "that they who are desirous to read what *Apollonius* said before the Judge, and his answers to the interrogatories of *Perennis*, "*[Prefect of the Praetorium]* and his whole apologie in the Senate, "they might see them in the collection, which he had made of "the ancient martyrdoms." But that is entirely lost, to our great grief. For those Acts of the martyrdom of *Apollonius*, if they were extant, we may reasonably think, would be instructive, as well as entertaining.

This shews, that in times, called times of *peace and tranquillity* for the churches, some might suffer capital punishment, as Christians.

The *ancient law*, to which *Eusebius* here refers, probably, is *Trajan's* edict concerning the Christians, and is so understood by (g) *Valesius*.

The edict of *Severus* against the Christians was not published before the year of our Lord 202. But from *Tertullian's* apologie, published in the year 198. or thereabout, it plainly appears, that the Christians had suffered persecution for some while before the publication of that edict. Indeed it appears to have been a day of heavie affliction to the Christians, as may be seen in what we have already writ in this (b) volume.

And by *Dionysius*, Bishop of Alexandria, we are fully assured, that (i) there was in that city a persecution under the Emperour *Philip*, and that for a whole year the Christians in that place underwent a great variety of heavie sufferings, before the publication of the edict of *Decius*.

And

(g) *Legem igitur, seu rescriptum Trajani ad Plinium Secundum intelligo, in quo cavetur, Christianos quidem inquirendos non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. Vales. in loc.*

(b) See before, in this volume. p. 12. 13.

(i) As above, p. 74. 75.

And my readers will here recollect the remarkable historie of *Marinus*, before related in this volume, (*k*) who suffered martyrdom at Cesarea, after that *Valerian's* persecuting edict had been revoked by his son *Gallienus*.

These things are sufficient to assure us, that the Christians, in this period, were generally in suffering circumstances, and were always liable to suffer.

Nevertheless, after all, it is not to be supposed, that persecution was always violent, and uninterrupted. There might be some abatements of those troubles, and some seasons of rest and peace. What they were, may be collected from what we have seen in this, and the preceding volumes. And I shall here reckon them up in a summarie manner. We reckon, that *Nerva* was favorable to them, who, when he repealed the other acts of *Domitian*, repealed also his law against the Christians. His successor *Trajan* published an edict against the Christians, which, as has been often hinted already, never was abrogated, but continued in force as long as Heathenism subsisted in the Roman Empire. Nevertheless we can perceive, that in the reigns of *Adrian*, and *Titus Antonin*, there were some edicts, or rescripts, which were favorable to them: though during those very reigns, many Christians still suffered in almost every part of the Empire. They also received some favour and indulgence from *Alexander Severus*, and *Philip*. They might also enjoy peace and tranquillity in the reigns of *Commodus* and *Caracalla*, who did not much concern themselves about the affairs of religion. The first years of *Valerian*, and the reign of *Gallienus*, after *Valerian's* captivity, were favorable to them: as likewise the former part of the reign of *Diocletian*, when the (*l*) Roman Empire was disturbed by enemies on every side.

In

(*k*) *P. 92. &c.*

(*l*) Ita cum per omnem orbem terra-

rum res turbatae essent, et *Carausius* in Britanniis rebellaret, *Achillaeus* in Aegypto.

In such seasons as these, it is reasonable to believe, that the Christians would exert themselves, and considerable accessions of new converts might be made to them. So it is said, Acts ix. 31. *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria: occasioned by (m) the consternation, into which the Jewish people were thrown by Caligula's order to have his statue set up in the temple at Jerusalem: and were edified: and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.*

When therefore I say, that all this while *Christianity was in a state of persecution*; I am willing, that proposition should be understood in a mild and qualified sense. We now proceed.

2. *Nevertheless it prevailed.*

Of this we have seen good evidence in Heathen, as well as in Christian writers. Which must be reckoned (n) very wonderfull, admitting all the softenings and qualifications in the forementioned proposition, that can be asked, or desired. From small beginnings it had mightily prevailed and encreased in a short †† time: and Christians

gypto. Africam Quingentiani infestarent, Narseus Orienti bellum inferret: Diocletianus Maximianum Herculum ex Caesare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximinum Caesares. &c. *Eutrop. l. 9. cap. 22. Conf. Victor. de Caesar. et Epitome. cap. 39.*

Igitur per omnes Romani Imperii fines subitarum turbationum fragores concrepulerunt. Carausio rebellante in Britannia, Achillaeo in Aegypto, cum et Africam Quingentiani infestarent, Narseus etiam Rex Persarum Orientem bello premeret. Hoc periculo Diocletianus permotus, Maximianum Herculeum ex Caesare fecit Augustum. &c. *Oros. l. 7. c. 25.*

(m) *See the Credibility, &c. Part i. p. 203. . . 210.*

(n) *Hoc temporum fractu, mirum est, quantum invaluerit Religio Christiana! Sulp. Sever. l. 2. cap. 33. al. 49.*

†† Now were fulfilled those prophetic parables of the first founder of this Religion: Matt. xiii. 31. . . . 33. *The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and hid in his field. Which indeed is the least of all seeds. But when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs: so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Another parable spoke he unto them: The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took*

stians were very numerous, in every part of the Empire, before the conversion of Constantin. Though they never had the princes of this world on their side, and from their first original they had endured a variety of difficulties, and several open persecutions, and now were under a severe persecution, which had raged with great violence for several years in most parts of the Empire; some have imagined it a suspicion not altogether without foundation, that a great Prince may have joyned himself to them from considerations of (o) interest. At least he perceived, that he might do it, without dreading any bad consequences from the Gentil people in the Empire.

Nor were they considerable only for their numbers. They were also respectable for their quality. There now were among them, and always had been men eminent for their skill in every part of literature: who wrote some in the Greek, others in the Roman language, and with uncommon purity and elegance. As appears from their works, still remaining.

3. and lastly, *This is honourable to the religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.*

The contention was between God and idols. And the cause of God prevailed. Many in every part of the Empire *turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his son from heaven, even Jesus, who delivers us from the wrath to come.* 1 Theff. i. 9. 10. “The design of whose coming is to bring men to repentance, and “reclaim them from idolatrie, and all other evil practises, and “thereby

took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened. Compare Mark iv. 30. . . 32. Luke xiii. 18. . . 21.

(o) Avant que trois siecles se soient éculées depuis la mort de J. C. le parti des Chrétiens est déjà si fort, qu'un Empereur l'embrasse sans craindre celui des Payens.

Il semble même, que loin d'affoibler par là sa puissance, il l'augmenta, et la fortifia par ce moien. *Sermons de S. Werenfels. p. 27. 1723.*

That passage is quoted Credib. P. 2. vol. 7. p. 380. where are other like observations.

“ thereby to deliver his faithfull followers from the future miserie,
 “ which will be the portion of all wicked and impenitent men, and
 “ to bestow upon them everlasting happineffe and salvation.”

Many there were at that time, who were inquisitive, and open to conviction. They therefore seriously attended to what was proposed to them, and impartially weighed the evidences of what was said. They forsook the errour of their past way of worship. They embraced, and professed the Christian Doctrine, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, and then recommended it to others.

Our blessed Lord, in one of his beautifull parables, has expressed himself after this manner. *The kingdom of heaven, the state of things under the gospel-dispensation, is like unto a certain King, who made a marriage for his son. And he sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding. And they would not come. Again, he sent forth other servants, saying: Tell them which are bidden, Behold I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready. Come unto the marriage. But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise. And the remnant took his servants, and entreated them spitefully, and slew them.* *Mat. xxii. 1. . . 6.*

This parable may have been primarily intended to represent the conduct of the Jewish people in the time of our Saviour, and his Apostles. But it is a just description of the temper and conduct of Gentils also, and of all men in general. The things of this world are preferred to those of another, and secular affairs are more minded than the things of religion. Few only are engaged in the search of truth. Religious truth is the least regarded, and the most opposed of any. This truth may be hard to be found. When it is discerned, and obtained by impartial inquiries, and serious meditation, it may be dangerous to own and profess it. The blessed Jesus there-

Mat. xiii. 44... 46. fore, our divine master, says again: *The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field: the which when a man has found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth, and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field. Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant-man, seeking goodly pearls: who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it.*

Prov. xxiii. 23. In the first ages of Christianity, truth bore a high price. Nevertheless there were those who bought it, and would not part with it upon any consideration whatever. Nor was this distraction, or *obstinacie*, as through mistake it is called by the Proprietor (*p*) Plinie, and the Emperour (*q*) Mark Antonin. It was a just and reasonable resolution. It is agreeable to all sound Philosophie, and the sentiments of all Philosophers, who have considered the obligations of human conduct, that (*r*) we ought to suffer death, rather than deny the truth, of which we are persuaded. And our Lord has expressed himself clearly upon this point, and without reserve. *Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven.* And he has given us full assurance, that none shall be losers by fidelity to him, or by any acts of self-denial for the sake of him, and his gospel. And he said to his disciples, *Verily I say unto you, there is no man, who has left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come everlasting life.* He has himself engaged in this warfare, and knows by experience, what it may cost. And therefore he has sometimes expressed himself after this manner: *In the world ye will have tribulation. But be of good cheer. I have overcome the world.* Again: *To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me*
in

Luke xviii. 28.
Mat. xix. 29.
Mark x. 29. 30.
John xvi. 33.
Rev. iii. 21.

(*p*) See Vol. 2. p. 12.

(*q*) *Ib.* p. 168.

(*r*) See vol. 2. p. 171.

in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.

If any of the first Christians were too forward, and needlessly exposed themselves to sufferings, they are not to be vindicated. For they acted contrarie to repeated precepts of Jesus himself. *Behold,* says he to his disciples, *I send you forth, as sheep among wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves: And, when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.* *Matt. x. 16. 23.*

But I do not think, that they often transgressed those rules. I am rather of opinion, that they were generally mindfull of them, and paid them due regard. We have seen examples of it in (s) Polycarp and his people, in (t) Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, in the (u) Christians at Alexandria, during the persecution of Valerian, and in the Christians (x) living in Pontus and Cappadocia, in the time of Maximin the Thracian. Other instances of their discretion might be alleged.

The Christians of the first three centuries were not perfect nor infallible. They had their failings, and their errors. Nor were they altogether free from strife and contention. But there were among them many men of sincere and undissembled virtue, and some eminent therein, who were shining examples of every thing excellent and commendable in human life. They were quiet and peaceable, and obedient to magistrates in all things appertaining to their (a) jurisdiction. They (b) prayed for the Roman Emperours, and for the officers

(s) Vol. 2. p. 190.

(t) Vol. 2. p. 174. and in this volume, p. 88. 89. and in the *Credib. P. 2. ch. 44.* vol. iv. p. 745. 746.

(u) See here in this volume, p. 85.

(x) As before, p. 61.

(a) See vol. 2. p. 40.

(b) Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro mora finis. *Tertull. ap. cap. 39. cited above, in vol. 2. p. 48. And see here in this volume, p. 70. 71. and p. 83. near the end, and p. 86.*

officers under them, and for the prosperity of the Empire. They were kind to each other, and to (c) strangers. *Our affair*, said the ancient (d) apologists, Justin Martyr, and Athenagoras, *lies not in words, but in works*. And Lactantius, so low as the begining of the fourth centurie, could say, “the (e) great concern of our people is to be holy and unblamable in their lives.” Plinie has born an honorable, and ample testimonie to the good design of their religious (f) assemblies. And they were remarkable for their patience and fortitude under sufferings for the principles which they had embraced. By all which they glorified God, edified each other, and were continually making converts from among their Gentil neighbours, and even from among such as hitherto had been their enemies.

Jude ver.
3.

If afterwards Christians altered for the worse: if they departed from *the faith once delivered to the saints*: if they admitted into their belief and profession corrupt mixtures of human invention: if instead of being persecuted themselves, they persecuted other men: or, if they persecuted one another for difference in speculative opinions, of little importance: or, if they did any thing else, contrarie to the purity of the doctrine of the gospel, we shall be obliged to acknowledge it without partiality, when we see the proofs of it.

And indeed, Chrysostom has observed, “that (g) Christianity rather declines under Christian Emperours. So far is it from being cherished by the honours and preferments of this world. But it thrives

(c) *Instances of both those kinds of generosity to such as were in affliction, may be seen in the chapter of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, vol. iv. p. 749. . . 752. and in the chapter of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, vol. 4. p. 574. &c. and here at p. 85. See also the chapter of Lucian, of Samosata, vol. 2. p. 358.*

(d) Οὐ γὰρ μελέτη λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐπιδάξει καὶ διδασκαλία ἔργων τὰ ἡμέτερα. *Athen. p.*

37. B. *Vid. et p. 12. A. et Justin. ad Gr. Coh. p. 53. B.*

(e) *Nostro autem populo, quid horum potest objici, cujus omnis religio est, sine scelere, et sine macula vivere? Inst. l. 5. cap. 9. sub fin.*

(f) *Vol. 2. p. 12. 13.*

(g) *De S. Bab. contr. Gentil. T. 2. p. 548. Bened.*

thrives most, when it is persecuted, and lies under worldly discouragements." And said Sulpicius Severus not long (b) agoe, speaking of Diocletian's persecution : " Glorious martyrdoms were then as earnestly contended for, as bishopricks have been since sought by ambitious men."

We may do well therefore to emulate the best times, and the sincerest disciples of Jesus Christ, whom we have taken for our master and guide in the things of religion. And we may sometimes recollect what our Lord said *before Pontius Pilate, therein witnessing a good confession. For this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witnesse unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth, beareth my voice.*

*1 Tim. vi.
13.
John
xviii. 37.*

Let us then carefully attend to that word of the gospel, which was first *preached every where*, by men chosen, and appointed, and fully qualified for that purpose, *the Lord himself working with them, and confirming it with signs following* : and has been since recorded by his faithfull Apostles and Evangelists. Amen.

*Mark xvi.
20.*

(b) P. 284.



An

An APPENDIX to Chapter XXXIX.
at p. 271.

I SHALL now, according to my promise, at p. 271. transcribe the observations of Dr. S. Parker, (a) upon the character of Apollonius Tyanaeus, and the historie of him, writ by Philostratus.

His observations, I believe, will be generally allowed to be right and pertinent. They are particularly remarkable upon two accounts. *First*, he considers Apollonius as a professed and conceited Pythagorean Philosopher, or, as his terms are, *a mere fanatic, and pedantic Pythagorean*. *Secondly*, he rejects the parabelisms of Huet, and shews their futility. Consequently, he did not embrace the opinion of Dr. Cudworth, and divers other learned men, who have supposed, that *Philostratus intended to set up Apollonius as a rival with our Saviour*. I thought, I had been singular in the opinion, which I received from Mr. La Roche. But here is a learned man, who wrote almost an hundred years ago, and thought in the same manner.

His

(a) *A Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the Christian Religion, in two Parts*. By Samuel Parker, D. D. Archdeacon of Canterbury. 1681. Dr. Parker was afterwards Bishop of Oxford. The passage to be quoted by me is taken from P. 2. §. xxvii.

p. 293. . . . 300. I leave his references, as they are, made to the Paris edition of Philostratus, in 1608. And in some places I add, at the bottom of the page, references to the edition of Olearius at Leipzig, in 1709.

His words are these : “ But the man of Wonders is *Apollonius Ty-*
 “ *anaeus*, of whom they boast and insult, as the true Heathen Mes-
 “ sias : in that he wrought not, as Vespasian did, one or two chance-
 “ miracles, but his whole life was all prodigie, and equal to our Sa-
 “ viour’s, both for the number and the wonder of his works. But
 “ here *first*, we have in part shewn what undoubted records we
 “ have of the life of Jesus : whereas all the credit of *Apollonius* his
 “ history depends upon the authority of one single man, who, be-
 “ side that he lived an hundred years after him, ventured nothing,
 “ as the Apostles did, in confirmation of it’s truth, but only com-
 “ posed it in his study : thereby, as appears from his frequent di-
 “ gressions, to take occasion of communicating to the world all the
 “ learning, which he had raked together. Nay, so far was he from
 “ incurring any loss by the work, that he was set upon it by a great
 “ Empress, whose religious zeal in the cause would be sure to see
 “ him well rewarded. And though he made use of the Commen-
 “ taries of *Damis*, the inseparable companion of *Apollonius* ; yet he
 “ confesses, that *Damis* himself never published his own Commen-
 “ taries, but that a friend of *Damis* communicated them to the
 “ Empress, which himself might probably have forged (as is com-
 “ mon in Courts) to pick her pocket. However, as for *Damis* him-
 “ self, it is evident, from *Philostratus* his whole story, that he was
 “ a very simple man, and that *Apollonius* only pickt him up, as a
 “ fit *Sancho Pancha* to exercise his wit upon : so that upon all oc-
 “ casions we find him not only baffling the Esquire in disputes, but
 “ breaking jests upon him, which he always takes with much thank-
 “ fulness, and more humility, still admiring his master’s wisdom,
 “ but much more his wit.

“ But after all, what the story of *Damis* was, or whether there
 “ were ever any such story, we have no account, unless from *Phi-*
 “ *lostratus* himself. And therefore we must resolve it all into his
 “ au-

“ authority alone. And there it is evident, that Apollonius was nei-
 “ ther a God, nor a divine man, as his friends boasted, nor a Ma-
 “ gician or Conjuror, as his enemies imagined, but a meer fanatic,
 “ and pedantic Pythagorean : who for the honour of his sect, tra-
 “ velled, as many others have done, into all parts of the world :
 “ and when he returned home, told his countreymen, that all men
 “ renowned for wisdom all the world over, were of the sect of the
 “ Pythagoreans : and then for advancement of their authority told
 “ strange and prodigious tales of their wonder-working power.
 “ Though here either he, or his historian, has acquitted himself so
 “ awkwardly, as utterly to spoil the tale, and defeat the design.
 “ This *Eusebius* has shewn at large in his book against *Hierocles*, by
 “ taking to pieces all parts of the story, and discovering all it's flaws
 “ and incoherences.”

“ But I shall content my-self with proving the vanity of the
 “ whole from the notorious falshood of one particular narration,
 “ upon which depends all that extraordinary power, which he pre-
 “ tends to : and that is his conversation with the Indian Brachmans,
 “ from whom, if we may believe his account of himself, he learn-
 “ ed all that he could do more than the common Philosophers of
 “ Greece. And, if this prove a romance, all the rest of his history
 “ must unavoidably follow it's fortune. And for this little proof will
 “ serve, when most of the stories are so very mean and childish, as
 “ to be more contemptible, than those little tales wherewith nurses
 “ are wont to quiet their children.

“ For what could be contrived more unphilosophically, than the
 “ Bramans keeping tubs of rain, wind, and thunder by
 l. 3. c. 3. “ them, which they bestow upon their friends, as their
 “ necessities (*b*) required. And the swelling of the earth,
 c. 5. “ like the waves of the sea, only with the stroke of a
 “ Braman's wand? Though (*c*) the most pleasant scene
 c. 8. “ of the whole comedy was their feast, in which there
 “ was

(*b*) *L. 3, cap. xiv. p. 104. Olear. edit.*

(*c*) *L. 3, cap. xxvii. p. 117. 118.*

“ was no need of any attendants : but the chairs and the stools, the
 “ pots and the cups, the dishes and the plates, understood every one
 “ their own offices : and so served in the entertainment themselves,
 “ and ran hither and thither, as the guests commanded, or their at-
 “ tendance required.”

“ But of all lyes the geographical lye is the most unhappy. For
 “ the matter of them being perpetual, and not as the actions of men
 “ are, transient, they may be confuted in any age. And yet, in
 “ this very thing he has out-done *Sir John Mandevil* himself, for
 “ incredible monsters and fables, describing men and beasts of strange
 “ shapes, that were never seen by any man but himself: as (d) a
 “ sort of women half black, half white, a nation (e) of
 “ pygmies, living under ground, griffins, apes as big c. 14.
 “ as men, beasts with the faces of men, and bodies
 “ of lions, wool growing like grass out of the earth,
 “ and (f) dragons almost as common as sheep in other c. 2.
 “ countreys. All which being so vulgarly known at
 “ this day to be meer fables, they cannot but overthrow the credit of
 “ the whole story. For either he wandred as far as the Indies, or
 “ not. If not, then his saying that he did, is one lye for all. If
 “ he did, then it is evident from these particulars, that he made no
 “ conscience of truth or falsehood : but designed only to amuse the
 “ world with strange and prodigious reports of the power of Py-
 “ thagorism.”

“ And that is the most that I can make of the story :
 “ though I know, that *Huetius* is of opinion, that all the *Demost. E-*
 “ substantial miracles are stolen out of the Gospels, and *vang. c. 147.*
 “ the Acts of the Apostles, and that, for the most part, §. 4.
 “ in the words and phrases of St. Luke. And this he has endeavo-
 “ red to make good by a great variety of parallel instances : and then
 “ thinks

N. B.

Z z 2

(d) L. 3. cap. iii. p. 96.

(e) L. 3. cap. xlvii. p. 133.

(f) L. 3. cap. vi. vii. viii. p. 99. 100.

“ thinks it a manifest discoverie, both of the vanity of *Philostratus*,
 “ and the imposture of *Apollonius*: when he is only adorned with
 “ borrowed feathers, but a great accession to the credit of our Sa-
 “ viour, that when his enemies would frame the idea of a divine
 “ man, they were forced to steal their best feathers from his pic-
 “ ture. So that, he says, it was no wonder, that *Hierocles* should
 “ so confidently compare the miracles of *Apollonius* to those of JE-
 “ SUS: when those of JESUS were with so little disguise clapt upon
 “ *Apollonius*.”

N. B.

“ This were a pretty discoverie, if it stood upon good grounds.
 “ But alas most of the parabelisms are so forced, or so slender, or
 “ so far fetched, that it were easie to make as many, and as pro-
 “ bable, between any other histories whatever. And indeed, in such
 “ a design as this of *Philostratus*, viz. to make up a story as full of
 “ strange things as he could contrive, it is scarce possible, not to
 “ have hit upon some things like some of those miracles which are
 “ recorded in the Gospels. So that in some few of them there may
 “ be some resemblance: as particularly there seems to be in that of
 “ the Gadarean demoniac and the Corcyrean youth:
 Propos. i. “ yet it is very obvious to apprehend, that this might
 §. 5. “ happen, not by design, but by chance. And where-
 “ as *Huetius* will needs have it, that *Philostratus* has stolen not only
 “ the stories, but the very words of St. Luke, I find no instance of
 “ it, but only in this one relation, where they both, it seems, use
 “ the word βασανίζειν. And this they might easily do without theft
 “ or imitation, it being the common Greek word that signifies to
 “ torment: so that they could no more avoid that in Greek, than
 “ we could this in rendring it into English. Nay, setting aside this
 “ one story, I find so little resemblance between the historie of *Pbi-*
 N. .B “ *lostratus*, and that of the Gospels, that I scarce know any two hi-
 “ stories more unlike. For it is obvious to any man that reads *Pbi-*
 “ *lostratus*, that his whole design was to follow the train of the old
 “ Heathen Mythology. And that is the bottom of his folly, by his
 “ story

“ story to gain historical credit to the fables of the Poets. So that
 “ it is a very true and just censure, which *Ludovicus Vives* has given
 “ of him, that as he had endeavoured to imitate *Homer*, so he had
 “ abundantly out-lyed him. For there is scarce any thing extraor-
 “ dinary reported in the whole history, in which he does not ap-
 “ parently design either to verify, or to rectify some of that blind
 “ ballad-finger’s tales. But especially in conjuring *Achilles* out of
 “ his tomb, and discoursing with him about the old stories, that
 “ were told of the Trojan war.”

“ And yet, after all, few of *Apollonius* his miracles are sufficiently
 “ vouched, even in his own History: v. g. the last that I men-
 “ tioned, of the apparition of (g) *Achilles*: which had no other tes-
 “ timony, but of *Apollonius* himself, who stubbornly refused to have
 “ any companion or witness of the fact: Beside many other absur-
 “ dities in the story itself: as his rising out of the tomb five foot
 “ long, and then swelling to twice the length: his being forced to
 “ vanish away at cock crowing, and the Nymphs constantly visiting
 “ him.”

“ And so again, he pretended to understand all languages without
 “ learning any. And yet, when he came to the Indian King, he
 “ was forced to converse with him by an (b) interpreter. And (i)
 “ whereas the story tells us of the devil’s being cast out of a young
 “ man by a mandate from the Bramans; yet it gives us no account
 “ of the event of it, only they pretended to do it. But whether
 “ it was effectually done, we do not find that either *Apollonius*, or
 “ *Damis* ever inquired.”

“ But the great faculty, which he pretended to, was the under-
 “ standing of the languages of birds and beasts: which, he says, he
 “ learned from the Arabians, and the Citizens of *Paraea* in *India*,
 “ who acquired it by eating dragons (k) hearts. Now all stories of
 “ dragons

(g) *L. 4. cap. xv. xvi. p. 151. . . 154.*

(i) *L. 3. cap. xxxviii. p. 128.*

(b) *L. 2. cap. xxvi. p. 77. et Conf. l. 1. cap. xxvii. et l. 2. cap. xxiii.*

(k) *L. 3. cap. ix. p. 101. Conf. l. 1. cap. xx. p. 25.*

“ dragons are hard of belief, but especially of his Indian dragons :
 “ which, he says, were as commonly (l) hunted by the inhabitants,
 “ as hares in other countreys. But granting, that there were so great
 “ numbers of them in his time, though since that they were never
 “ seen by any man, it is very hard to believe, that the meer eating a
 “ piece of their hearts, should inspire men with such an odd and
 “ singular faculty.”

“ But the great miracle of all was his vanishing away at his tryal
 “ before Domitian, in the presence of all the great men of Rome.
 “ But then, though our Historian be very desirous we should believe
 “ it, yet he falters afterwards, like a guilty lyer, in his confidence.
 “ For whereas (m) at first, he positively affirms, ἡφανίσθη τῷ δικαστηρίῳ,
 “ that he quite vanished away ; at last he only (n) says, ἀπῆλθε, that
 “ he went away. And this, though he would seem to
 1. 8. c. 4. “ affirm, that it was after a wonderfull manner, and no
 “ body knows how, is a pitifull abatement to the big-
 “ ness of his former expression, *vanishing away*. Though the truth
 “ is, if he had stood to it, it must unavoidably have proved itself a
 “ lye. For it is utterly incredible, that so strange a thing, as that,
 “ should have been done in so great a presence, and yet never any no-
 “ tice be taken of it.”

“ But, in the last place, the Historian would fain bid at something
 “ of his Hero's appearing after death. Yet he does it so faintly, that
 “ in the conclusion of all it comes to nothing, especially, when he
 “ tells us, that the time of his death was altogether unknown, and
 “ that the uncertainty of it took in no less than the compass of thirty
 “ years. And then, they that were so utterly at a loss as to the time
 “ of his decease, and that for so long a space, were very likely to give
 “ a very wise account of the certain time of any thing that he did af-
 “ ter it !

“ But

(l) See the references at note (f).

(n) *Ib. cap. viii. p. 353. f. et cap. x. p.*

(m) *L. 8. cap. v. p. 326.*

354.

“ But how, or to whom did he appear? Why, to a l. 8. c. 13.
 “ young man, one of his followers, that doubted of the
 “ immortality of the soul for ten months together after his death.
 “ But how, or where? Why, (a) the young man being tired with
 “ watching, and praying to *Apollonius*, that he would appear to him
 “ only to satisfy him in this point, one day fell into a dead sleep in
 “ the school, where the young men were performing their several
 “ exercises. And on the sudden he starts up in a great fright, and a
 “ great sweat, crying out, *πείσομαι σοι*, I believe thee, o Tyanaeus.
 “ And being asked by his companions the meaning of this transport:
 “ Why, says he, do you not see *Apollonius*? They answer him, no:
 “ but they would be glad to give all the world, if they could. It is
 “ true, says he. For he only appears to me, and for my satisfaction,
 “ and is invisible to all others. And then he tells them what he had
 “ said to him in his sleep concerning the state of souls. This poor
 “ account of a dream and vision of an over-watched boy, is all that
 “ this great story affords to vye with our Saviour’s resurrection.”

“ And now, upon the review of this whole History, it seems evident
 “ to me, that this man was so far from being endowed with any ex-
 “ traordinary Divine power, that he does not deserve the reputation
 “ of an ordinary Conjuror. For though *Huetius* has taken some
 “ pains to prove him so, yet he gives no evidence of it, beside the
 “ opinion of the common people. And if that were enough to
 “ make a Conjuror, there is no man of an odd and singular hu-
 “ mour (as *Apollonius* affected to be) who is not so thought of by the
 “ common people. And therefore, when he was accused for it be-
 “ fore Domitian; the Emperour, upon coming to hear the cause,
 “ slighted both him, and his accusers, and dismissed him the Court
 “ for an idle and fantastic fellow.”

“ And it is manifest from the whole series of his History, that he
 “ was a very vain man, and affected to be thought something extra-
 “ ordinary : ”

(a) L. 8. cap. xxxi. p. 370. 371.

“ ordinary : and so wandered all the world over in an odd garb, to
 “ be gazed at, and admired, and made himself considerable in that
 “ age by wit, impudence, and flattery : of all which he had a com-
 “ petent share. And for his wonder-working faculty, which he
 “ would needs pretend to, he fetched that as far off as the *East In-*
 “ *dies*, that is, the farthest off, as he thought, from confutation.
 “ And yet the account, which he has given of those parts, is so gross-
 “ ly (*p*) fabulous, that that alone convicts his whole life of impos-
 “ ture and impudence.”

“ And this may suffice to make good this part of the demonstration
 “ of our Saviour’s Divine Authority from the certain evidence, both
 “ of his own and his Apostles Miracles, and to set it above the reach
 “ of all manner either of objection, or competition.”

That is the whole of the article of *Dr. Parker*, concerning *Apollonius*. Whence it appears, that the historie of him in *Philostratus* is fabulous, and not to be relyed upon : and that *Apollonius* was not so considerable a person, as some have imagined. And I hope I may say, that these observations of *Dr. Parker* do in a great measure confirm those, which have been before proposed by me.

(*p*) That is a just, and valuable observation, and is fully verified by the second and third books of *Philostratus’s Life of Apollonius*.

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